

JPRS-SSA-86-115

18 NOVEMBER 1986

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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18 NOVEMBER 1986

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

CONTENTS

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKANER/GOVERNMENT

Christian Afrikaners Urged To Reject AWB Theology (THE STAR, 10 Oct 86)	1
--	---

Briefs SADF Chief Decorated	2
--------------------------------------	---

BLACKS

Challenges of New U.S. Ambassador Examined (CITY PRESS, 12 Oct 86)	3
---	---

Tutu Views Emergency, U.S. Sanctions (Desmond Tutu Interview; Mbabane Television Service, 16 Oct 86)	4
--	---

Buthlezi Asks Cessation of Tensions With Mozambique (SAPA, 22 Oct 86)	6
--	---

KaNgwane Chief Minister Discusses Role in Internal Opposition (Enos Mabuza Interview; CITY PRESS, 12 Oct 86)	7
---	---

UDF's Organization, Goals, Tactics Examined (Tony Stirling; THE CITIZEN, various dates)	10
--	----

Cosatu Assistant Secretary Warns Employers on Political Action (Mono Badela; CITY PRESS, 12 Oct 86)	19
--	----

Principles of New Azactu-Cusa Federation Outlined (ZB Molefe; CITY PRESS, 12 Oct 86)	20
---	----

Overseas Support for NECC 'People's Education' Detailed (Mono Badela; CITY PRESS, 12 Oct 86)	22
---	----

NECC Reply to Viljoen Statements on Education Crisis (Fanyana Mazibuko; CITY PRESS, 12 Oct 86)	23
Black Student Leader Speaks on Academic Freedom (Thami April Interview; THE WEEKLY MAIL, 17-23 Oct 86) ...	25
Eastern Cape Pupils Become 'Educational Refugees' (THE NEW NATION, 9-22 Oct 86)	27
Government Support of New UCCP Noted (Mono Badela; CITY PRESS, 12 Oct 86)	28
Changing Needs of Black Housing Surveyed (BUSINESS DAY, 6, 15 Oct 86)	29
Overcrowding Major Cause of Unrest	29
Israeli-based Minrav	30
Blacks Need Greater Subsidies	31
Sale May Pick Up	31
Explosion of Ghetto Housing on Reef	32
Household Subsistence Levels	33
'Informal Settlements' Around Cities Increase, by Willie Harris	34
PWV Region Could Ease Black Housing, by Linda Ensor	35
 Briefs	
NECC Slams SATV Program	36
Bophuthatswana Officials' Spending Cited	36

SOCIOPOLITICAL/OTHER

Human Flood of Refugees From Mozambique Unabated (Susan Fleming; THE STAR, 13, 14 Oct 86)	37
Pouring Into Gazankulu, KaNgwane, Lebowa	37
Fleeing Crossfire Between MNR, Frelimo	38
Children Recount Nightmare Trek	40
Impact on Mining Industry of Mozambican Workers Ban Examined (Phillip van Niekerk, Jean Leger; THE WEEKLY MAIL, 17-23 Oct 86)	41
'Unexpected' Cutback in Indian Education Reported (Khalil Aniff; POST NATAL, 15-18 Oct 86)	43
Evidence of Increasing State Surveillance on Citizens Noted (THE SUNDAY STAR, 12 Oct 86)	45
State Uses Blacks to Monitor Blacks, by David Breier	45
Reality of 'Orwellian Nightmare'	46
Lie Detectors, by Guy Jepson	47
Computers, by Melanie Gosling	48
Phone Taps, by Jon Qwelane	49

Psychology of Unrest, Rise of Khmer Rouge Element Examined (Jo-Ann Bekker; THE WEEKLY MAIL, 17-23 Oct 86)	52
Shifting Spectrum of Nation's Politics Reviewed (David Breier; THE SUNDAY STAR, 12 Oct 86)	57
Tensions Between Government, Business Examined (THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER, 18 Oct 86)	59
Industry Decentralization Policy Creates Urban Unemployment (Quraish Patel; POST NATAL, 8-11 Oct 86)	60
Commentary Says Complexity, Scope of Reforms Ignored (Johannesburg International Service, 23 Oct 86)	62
Committee Rules on Banned Publications (SAPA, 20 Oct 86)	63
Media Association Reunifies With New Constitution (SAPA, 20 Oct 86)	64
Briefs	
More Whites Have Jobs	65

ECONOMIC

Director-General of Finance Discusses Gold Price, Other Issues (Chris Stals Interview; THE SUNDAY STAR, 12 Oct 86)	66
Europe's Fuel Costs Lowered After Agreement With Italy's ENEL (Gerard McCloskey; BUSINESS DAY, 17 Oct 86)	69
U.S. Sanctions Package Explained (Stephen Rogers; BUSINESS DAY, 6 Oct 86)	71
Experts Say Steel, Agriculture Hardest Hit by U.S. Sanctions (BUSINESS DAY, 9 Oct 86)	74
SEIFSA: Sanctions on Steel Polarizing Nation (Helen Grange; THE CITIZEN, 14 Oct 86)	75
Farmers Confident About Rising Above Sanctions Threat (Mick Collins; THE STAR, 7 Oct 86)	76
Continuing Drought Threatens Economic Growth Prospects (David Southey; SUNDAY TIMES, 12 Oct 86)	77
Farm Debt Soars; Co-Ops Face Financial Ruin (Mick Collins; BUSINESS DAY, 7 Oct 86)	79

Gloomy Scenario Forecast for Manufacturing Sector in 1987 (Mick Collins; BUSINESS DAY, 9 Oct 86)	81
BER: Imports To Rise Sharply in 1987 (BUSINESS DAY, 15 Oct 86)	82
Nation's Vital MCV Factor Explained (Jaap Boekkooi; THE STAR, 10 Oct 86)	83
Low Productivity Related To Lack of Business Management (Sheryl Raine; THE STAR, 15 Oct 86)	85
More Cuts in Intercity Train Services (Zenaide Vendeiro; THE STAR, 15 Oct 86)	87
Briefs	
Erfdeel Shaft Shows Promise	88
New Factory Supplies Timber Needs	88
Coal Plant to Continue	88
Shellfish Industry Collapse	89
National Embargo on Shipping Information	89

/7310

SOUTH AFRICA

CHRISTIAN AFRIKANERS URGED TO REJECT AWB THEOLOGY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Oct 86 p 4

[Text]

Christian Afrikaners should reject the theology of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) as "sugar-coated humanism", says the publication of a group of Potchefstroom academics and theologians.

The latest issue of *Woord en Daad*, published by the Reform Movement of Southern Africa, carried a lengthy editorial and an article warning Afrikaners against the AWB.

The AWB claimed its principles were based on Christianity, but it applied those in a one-sided manner to the Afrikaner nation only, Dr J M Vorster of Derdepoort, Pretoria, said in the editorial.

DIVERSITY

It twisted the Christian faith by elevating the diversity of ethnic groups to a biblical principle and ignoring the scriptural principle of unity.

The ethnic theology of the AWB was nothing but disguised humanism in which man was great and God was small.

Dr Vorster said Christian Afrikaners should reject this "sugar-coated humanism".

In an article warning Afrikaans youth against the AWB, the Rev Theuns Eloff said the organisation was gaining support by feeding on people's fear of the future.

"The AWB is a threat to the future of South Africa and all its people (Christians included), because it will not search for a just solution," he said.

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CSO: 3400/279

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SADF CHIEF DECORATED--Taipei--The South African Defence Chief, Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, received the Pao Ting medal with Grand Cordon from Taiwan's chief of Staff, Gen Hau Pei-Tsun in Taipei yesterday. Gen Hau said at the ceremony the decoration was made in recognition of Gen Geldenhuys' outstanding contributions in the promotion of traditional friendship and military co-operation between the Republic of China and South Africa. [Text]
[Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Oct 86 p 8] /9317

CSO: 3400/279

SOUTH AFRICA

CHALLENGES OF NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR EXAMINED

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 2

[Text]

IT SEEMS US President Ronald Reagan's policy of constructive engagement with SA has come to an end.

Reagan, who in the last six years of office has dominated his country's foreign policy like no other president has before him, suffered his first ever defeat on the South African issue.

Even trusted allies in the House of Representatives and the Senate abandoned him.

Now in an effort to placate the left in American politics, he has nominated black career diplomat Edward Perkins as the next ambassador to SA.

Perkins will succeed

Herman Nickel who was recalled to Washington last week.

How Perkins will be able to stand up to the rigours of what is probably the hottest diplomatic seat in the world, remains to be seen.

As a black man having to operate in an extremely racial environment, he can be expected to find demands on him very trying.

But what is going to be even more trying for him, is that he takes up his position when relations between the two countries are at an unprecedented low. The wave of anti-SA feelings sweeping across the US are matched only by the anti-American sentiments growing in SA.

All signs point to a long, hot summer for Uncle Sam's man in Pretoria.

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CSO: 3400/283

SOUTH AFRICA

TUTU VIEWS EMERGENCY, U.S. SANCTIONS

MB171630 Mbabane Television Service in Siswati 1815 GMT 16 Oct 86

[Interview with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town speaking in Xhosa by Sabelo Masuku at Matsapa International Airport on 16 October]

[Text] [Masuku] Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town today said no one wishes economic sanctions on South Africa. What people are really fighting are the evils in that country. I spoke to Archbishop Tutu when he arrived at Matsapa International Airport today.

[Begin video recording] [Tutu] I know we shall be discussing South Africa, especially since we are living under difficult times with the present state of emergency under which many people have been detained, wondering how we shall reach a point when in our country people will be able to live together as one.

[Masuku] As a man of God, archbishop, how do you think the church, and by church I mean Christians, can help promote change in South Africa and bring about peace?

[Tutu] Christians should show clearly that God's will is that all people should be treated as human beings, as His creation, and none should be treated as though they were inferior. Then again Christians should indicate that their Christianity is not a Sunday affair only. If you are a believer, you do not believe on Sunday only, but all days of the week, at work and at play. Now many people tend to take Christianity as something they wear on Sundays to church as a uniform, which they then put away in the wardrobe till the next Sunday.

[Masuku] Archbishop, let us now go back to the burning issue of economic sanctions against South Africa. What is your opinion of this or rather, what is your opinion of American sanctions against the country? Is this satisfactory to you? Are you happy about America's intended sanctions against the country?

[Tutu] We have said many times that the people who can effect a change are South Africans themselves. If the South African Government would listen to

the people's requests for a stop to the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, permission for the exiles to return home without fear of detention, the unbanning of political organizations, and then agree to discussions around a conference table with blacks on what can be done to build the nation together, then alternative action by America and other nations would not take place. Sanctions would not be applied. Sanctions come because our government refuses to listen.

[Masuku] Now, archbishop, let us turn to this law introduced in June, I think it was 12 June....

[Tutu, interrupting] Which one?

[Masuku] The state of emergency...

[Tutu, interrupting] Oh yes, yes, yes.

[Masuku] Following its introduction, what is your opinion of it?

[Tutu] It is useless. It is like when someone suffering from toothache goes and buys aspirins and takes them for temporary relief. When the aspirin's effects wear off, you find that the tooth still aches. The state of emergency is exactly the same. They are now willing to find out why the blacks are unhappy. They detain their leaders in jail for long periods, then when they decide to lift the state of emergency, they find the symptoms of strife still there and upheaval starts again, all because they did not... [changes thought] it is like a person with a serious illness, if his doctor does not make a thorough examination he will not be able to administer the appropriate medication. We are trying to tell them, like for instance when I talk to State President Botha, I told him that it was of no use if we do not say what South Africa is suffering from because we shall continue administering ineffective medication. [End video recording]

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CSO: 3400/285

SOUTH AFRICA

BUTHELEZI ASKS CESSATION OF TENSIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE

MB221703 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1647 GMT 22 Oct 86

[Excerpts] Durban Oct 22 SAPA--Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expressing grief at the death of President Samora Machel, today said South Africa should cease any alleged participation in the escalation of tension between Mozambique and South Africa. "It is now certainly the time for South Africa to cease any participation in the escalation of tension between Mozambique and South Africa," the chief minister of Kwazulu and president of Inkatha, said. "Let us now be the kind of neighbour which grieving Mozambique requires in its hour of destiny."

He applauded the decision of the South African Government to mount "the greatest possible endeavour" to establish why President Machel's plane crashed. "Nothing could be more horrendous than any intimation that South Africa was responsible for the crash," Chief Buthelezi said.

It would be foolish of the South African Government to make the inquiry a South African inquiry. South Africa should participate in an international inquiry and every possible facility should be provided for a definitive investigation. "South Africans demand to know what actually transpired."

He expressed condolences on behalf of King Zwelithini, the Kwazulu cabinet and the leadership of Inkatha.

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CSO: 3400/285

SOUTH AFRICA

KANGWANE CHIEF MINISTER DISCUSSES ROLE IN INTERNAL OPPOSITION

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 6

[Interview with KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza by Natal University's INDICATOR SA; date not given]

[Text]

KANGWANE: Chief Minister Enos Mabuza is the first homeland leader to talk to the African National Congress, since KwaZulu counterpart MG Buthelezi met the ANC in 1979.

Mabuza met the ANC in March this year and in an interview with Natal University's news journal *Indicator SA*, before the emergency was declared, he talks about the meeting and his own role in internal opposition.

Part of the interview is published here - with discussions on the regional implications of the national unrest and on development factors in KaNgwane.

What was the cause of the recent unrest in KaNgwane?

Students were dissatisfied with the way examination scripts were marked. They boycotted classes. Education officials promised to look into the matter and the trouble subsided. When police shot dead two pupils, we were faced with more funerals. So again we tried to speak to student leaders, to persuade them to return to school and not to resort to violence. But a lot depends on what happens in the surrounding areas. We are told the situation is much more serious in Gazankulu and Lebowa.

Until recently, most of the worst violence was limited to urban centres. It now appears to be spreading to some quite isolated rural areas. To what would you attribute this?

This is partly the result of increased political awareness among the youth all over the country. The rural youth are fully aware of what is going on in the urban areas and this influences their actions. They uphold the ANC - the

freedom songs contain references to the (military) "stampede" when marching to freedom. One wonders who teaches them - when they are taught?

The leaders, whoever they are, fear that they might be promoting the aims and objectives of a banned organisation. So they must remain faceless, and politically motivated youth unfortunately cannot have the advantage of an identifiable leader who will give them direction. Their aspirations are not wrong - but I think their methods are counter-productive to their objectives.

What are the aims of the Inyandza National Movement and what role do you see for it?

Our movement is a progressive movement working for peaceful change, believing in a free, non-racial and democratic SA. We are prepared to co-operate with other democratic forces in the country - including the UDF, Azapo and Inkatha.

You have frequently stated that your political ideal would be one man/one vote in a unitary state, but in meetings with other homeland leaders you appear to consider a federation.

This will have to be determined at the conference table. I certainly would not go to negotiations with a federal formula in my pocket. I would go there demanding one man/one vote in a unitary state.

But what about the leaders of the other homelands, especially those who have accepted "independence"? For example, Ciskei president Lennox Sebe is unlikely to relinquish the independence of his territory?

I believe in the dismantling of the entire bantustan edifice because I think its foundation is faulty and shaky. With all due respect to Sebe, I do not think he believes that he is president of a state when he still has to be financed by another independent country.

I do not see the present young generation supporting the homelands. So we have to start preparing for the changes now. In my view the homeland leaders will have to accept as a *fait accompli* that this thing will have to go. And then they would have to bargain for their constituencies, in a sort of free market political system.

What would you see as the ideal economic model for a future SA?

I would support a free market system, but we must take into account the fact that it has not been as free as it should be in SA. There are glaring disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots" - between black and white.

There would have to be a transitional period where the "have-nots" would have to be given the chance to make up for the ground they have lost. This would occur through the relaxation of existing constraints on the free market system and the opening up of opportunities, such as the recent opening of central business districts in cities, and an equitable education system.

What do you see as being your particular role in achieving these changes?

I regard my role as limited. I see my primary role as one of trying to bring together people of opposite views, so that they can talk, and map out the future of the country. I am not thinking of a role beyond the end of the present system ... others can take over.

After returning from your meeting in Lusaka with the ANC on March 2 1986, a joint ANC/INM statement was released, expressing opposition to the bantustan system. How do you reconcile this statement with your position as KaNgwane Chief Minister?

If I were to resign today it would not remove the acts which constitute it - and, possibly, somebody else might come in and carry it to its logical conclusion. So I regard my role as being that of applying brakes and reversing it as far as I can, no matter how slow the process might be, and using it to bargain for a new SA.

Young people, especially, see us as being in the camp of the oppressor. Instead, it must be seen that even people who are operating within the system can play a role, and that even the ANC are prepared to talk to you.

How do you plan to do this? Through public statements, through communicating with the youth?

Yes. One would also have to take time to speak to the other self-governing homelands' leaders to express these views and urge that we should combine forces and face a common enemy. If you look at the ANC/INM statement, you will realise it condemns the structure of the system, but not the people. We believe that people can still change sides, and work together as one force to change the system.

What do you see as the biggest obstacle in the way of change in SA?

Apartheid is an obstacle, but black disunity is the most serious obstacle. However, if the government were to change, and say "come let us negotiate", and 50 black leaders were to participate, there would be a realignment of political groupings and the disunity would be reduced. But as long as the present policies exist, there will be in-fighting among blacks.

Your relationship with the ANC - what do you feel came out of your meeting in Lusaka?

I believe very strongly that the ANC is a key actor, perhaps the most important actor ... In our communique, the two delegations agreed to work separately and implement their own decisions. In other words we recognised that we (the INM) are an internal movement which works independently within the legal terrain prescribed by the laws of the country, but that we share a common objective with the ANC.

There has been tremendous antagonism between the ANC and Inkatha. You have had close links with both organisations, and are in some ways caught in the middle. How does this affect your role?

I do not intend to intervene in a conflict in which I have never been involved. This antagonism is a great tragedy, as I believe in fostering unity and Inkatha has a role to play in this country.

The State President is forming a National Statutory Council, comprising representatives of the SA government, the homeland governments and other "representative" black leaders. What are your views on such a body?

We do not know what its composition or actual statutory powers will be, but we believe it will be a form of preliminary discussions for an actual negotiation forum. If the State President did not realise the need to negotiate, to bring in blacks and talk to them about the future of the country, he would not

have announced it. But I do not see blacks participating in the absence of leaders who are imprisoned or in exile.

Are you going to participate?

Yes, provided the government seriously considers releasing political prisoners and unbanning political organisations. I do not want to be accused tomorrow by my constituents of having negotiated behind the backs of others.

You once said KuNcwane felt like Pretoria's unwanted stepson. KuNcwane battled to get self-governing status, and in 1982 the homeland was nearly ceded to Swaziland.

It was the intention of Pretoria to have all homelands become independent, and from the moment I took

office, I expressed my opposition to independence. So the government had to find ways and means of pressuring us - and we have not yet heard the last word. What they might do is just cut off the supply lines so that the people can turn against me and say "Look, you've been to Lusaka and now we are without".

Do you think they would do that?

I cannot say they would do that, but they are certainly capable of doing that. The consolidation of our territory is still pending and there are question marks as to why. I do not think there is any self-governing territory into which there has been such massive resettlement - without jobs, social amenities, or a basic infrastructure ... Creating a typical situation of social unrest.

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CSO: 3400/291

SOUTH AFRICA

UDF'S ORGANIZATION, GOALS, TACTICS EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10, 11, 13 Oct 86

[Article by Tony Stirling]

[10 Oct 86 p 10]

[Text]

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) is an umbrella organisation for about 700 bodies in South Africa, which is pushing for the creation of a Socialist state under majority rule — and which has strong links with the African National Congress (ANC).

Not only has its leadership been involved in frequent meetings with the ANC, but its two national presidents, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede, are former ANC members, while a former president, Mr Oscar Mpetha, also an ANC member, is serving a prison sentence for terrorism.

The jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, is the prime patron of the UDF, while all those jailed with him at the Rivonia trial are also patrons.

The UDF's journal, *Isizwe* (The Nation) says: "Mandela symbolises our great unbroken traditions of struggle," and describes Mandela as "the symbol of unity with the ranks".

It points to Mandela's ideal of a classless society based on a marriage between Marxism and African nationalism.

Credo

The UDF uses the Freedom Charter, the credo of the ANC, as the basis of its "new South Africa" and as the instrument for delivering "power to the people".

The Free Mandela Campaign, which is featured regularly and prominently in various UDF publications, is spearheaded by the UDF, which has its national offices in Khotso House, Johannesburg, along with the SA Council of Churches and a number of organisations involved in the "liberation struggle".

In a speech at the University of Potchefstroom earlier this year, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, outlined the similarities in the goals of the ANC and the internal programmes and campaigns of the UDF.

He noted that as far back as 1976, the ANC mouthpiece, *Sechaba*, had called for the organisation of trade unions for the rights of workers, the organisation of protest meetings against food price increases, commuter fares and rents, and the organisation of mass boycott actions, as well as "speaking out against Bantustans", the preaching of the idea of a single, united South Africa, the organisation of youth

against "Bantu education" and to organise complete non-participation in the "border wars".

Long before the formation of the UDF in Cape Town in 1983, the ANC had called for mobilisation and unification of the "masses".

Emerged

Months before the UDF finally emerged, the ANC president, Oliver Tambo called for the "organisation of the people into a strong mass democratic organisation", and just after it had emerged, said the organised workers "must build and lead the United Democratic Front".

Tambo said it was a fore-runner of the ANC's

emergence once again as a mass organisation in South Africa.

The SA Communist Party organ, the African Communist, also expressed its satisfaction over the formation of the UDF.

Boycott

In a statement less than two weeks ago, the UDF admits to being involved in rent boycotts affecting 53 townships.

Isizwe, in a document entitled "building people's power", notes the "working class leadership . . . must lead the other classes in the liberation struggle".

It says that capitalism was brought to South Africa by imperialism, and was built "on the foundations of national oppression and still rests firmly on those foundations".

In following what it calls the "National Democratic Struggle", (NDS) political power and all the country's resources "must be in the hands of the people".

Idea

"This idea is contained in the Freedom Charter which sets out the demands of the NDS," it says.

"In the liberation struggle the working class will fight for the fullest democracy, and that will enable the building of socialism," says Isizwe.

Another issue of the same journal says that "capitalism causes unemployment", because it was strategy of the capitalist "bosses" to keep the workers divided by creating a large body of unemployed workers, or reserve labour army, to keep the workers divided.

The "Bantustans" in South Africa were used to support and control the

huge reservoir of unemployed in South Africa, thus keeping them away from the centres of political and economic power.

"In modern socialist countries, like Cuba, there is no such thing as unemployment," says Isizwe. "The fields and factories belong to the whole Cuban working people. Work is guaranteed to all citizens in socialist countries," it says.

The most important grouping in the UDF's strategy of a worker-led revolution is the Congress of Trade Unions of South Africa (Cosatu).

A number of UDF affiliated unions, including the General and Allied Workers' Union and the South African Allied Workers' Union, have joined Cosatu, while the UDF's Transvaal publicity secretary, Sydney Mafunadi, sits on its national executive.

Already Cosatu and the UDF have joined forces in the Free Mandela campaign, and the formation of this trade union federation has been welcomed by Oliver Tambo.

Other forms of "mobilisation" in which the UDF and Cosatu have co-operated include the calling of stayaways (including the June 16 stayaway, which was backed by the ANC and was supposed to herald the ushering in of the ANC's campaign to demonstrate that South Africa's Black townships were ungovernable).

Remember

The UDF's Transvaal region newsletter, UDF News, days before the state of emergency, called for it to be a day to remember "Comrade Nelson Mandela" and all other political prisoners,

and to call for the unbanning of the ANC and reflect on "gains made" over the decade since the outbreak of the Soweto "uprising".

On the education and youth front, the UDF suffered a setback through the banning of its affiliate, the Congress of South Africa Students (Cosas), but has continued to function through the formation of new student affiliates in the various regions.

It is of significance that after Oliver Tambo had met with the UDF affiliate, the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee — which was later expanded into a national body, the National Education Crisis Committee, a return to school by students was agreed upon earlier this year.

The organisations' information bulletin, UDF Update, commented on the NECC decision as follows:

"The decision to return to school was primarily motivated by the recognition that the presence of students at schools would provide them with an opportunity to regroup and reorganise."

This was the precise strategy which had been called for by Tambo.

The NECC, which has strong links with the UDF, and backed by UDF student affiliates, is now calling upon the government to hand over Black schools to the organisation.

Since the banning of Cosas last August, new UDF affiliates such as the Transvaal Student Congress have been organised on a regional basis in many areas.

Object

The object of taking over schools, according to the UDF publication, "Upfront", and other UDF news organs, is the introduction of so-called "people's education".

"People's education", it notes is part of a general political development towards "people's power".

Isizwe (The Nation) which for reasons of probable prosecution notes that its views "are not the official views of the UDF", although it is an official UDF journal, describes the movement as a "broad national democratic movement".

It warns against the dangers of populism, which "tends to ignore the crucial leading role of the working class within that popular unity", and what it describes as "ultra Leftism", which "speaks only of the working class" and neglects uniting the "broadest popular unity" in the liberation struggle.

The UDF's role in boycotts, particularly of White-owned businesses, is reflected in many of its publications, as is its call for a single united South Africa.

The organisation has thus attempted to fulfil

the definition of a "mass democratic organisation" as envisaged by Tambo, as well operating in the directions spelt out by the ANC.

Much prominence is given to the ANC and its affairs in UDF publications, and the ANC in its publications expresses support for the UDF.

It was Tambo who wrote to the ANC publication, Dawn, that the birth of the UDF "marked a milestone in the struggle of our people against apartheid".

As a broad movement, the UDF has become involved in every facet of activity imaginable, its affiliates ranging from street committees of as little as 10 persons to trade unions numbering thousands.

"We must begin to place power in the hands of the people, in all spheres — the economy, education, culture crime control, health, and in fact, wherever it is possible", says Isizwe.

In conducting the "struggle", the UDF's members have frequently come into conflict with the authorities.

In April the UDF News recorded that 52 of its members had been

charged with treason in six different trials. A further 383 were facing charges under the Internal Security Act in 43 trials and 513 had been charged in 53 "other political trials".

Charges

Many more are facing charges since the state of emergency was declared.

The UDF claims 80 percent of those held are its members, against 60 percent during last year's emergency.

The organisation's most recent pronouncements indicate that it has gone over into a new phase of the struggle which has seen the formation of the so-called "defence committees" aimed at countering security force and vigilante action — and what it described as a move from a "armed propaganda" to "a people's war".

As indicated in a recent statement to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, it also has made an outright rejection of any negotiated settlement of South Africa's problems.

And it has gone beyond its call for security forces to leave the townships, and is now calling for their "disbandment".

Aims To Disrupt Attempts at Unity

PART of the strategy of the UDF involves sharpening the divisions within the "enemy", which includes the National Party, the Progressive Federal Party and Big Business.

"Isizwe (the Nation)," issued by the UDF in Cape Town, an official journal of the organisation states that one of the tasks is to "isolate the enemy," which it sees as all groups, institutions and concerns which participate in the existing structures of government and power.

As part of this strategy for example, the UDF mobilised a campaign against the tri-cameral Parliamentary system and the continuing nationwide campaign against Black local government structures in the urban areas.

"In the first place our job is to isolate the enemy. While this is a 'traditional' task, we are now concerned with something more elaborate than undertaken in the anti-constitution campaigns," notes Isizwe.

Frustrated attempts

"There were frustrated attempts to co-opt significant sectors of the Indian and Coloured communities, just as the rejection of the BLA's (Black Local Authorities) ensured that only puppets would staff those structures," it says.

"Now we are speaking of something broader. We have noted the differences between sections of capital and the NP. We want to maintain that division.

But that does not mean we draw Big Business into the camp of the people

"That can never be. Our aim is, however, to neutralise sections of the enemy camp or its allies and thus to dislocate their attempts at unity," says Isizwe.

One of the ways to achieve this was to ensure that they (the enemy) "have no illusions about puppet solutions."

"For example, every time we reject PW's offers — it actually energises business to come up with their own vision and that again exacerbates the split.

"The fact that business has met with the ANC is partly as a result of popular rejection of government initiatives.

"In a sense, every time we remove the legitimacy from a government initiative by getting the masses to support us, we further sharpen the division within the ruling bloc," says Isizwe.

Divisive role

The divisive role played by the UDF in its efforts to promote polarisation was demonstrated in a recent "message to the people of South Africa" by its national executive.

To the business community it said: "Throughout the decades you have benefited from apartheid. Now you say: 'apartheid must go.'"

"This is not enough. More business leaders must follow those who have called for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of (Nelson) Mandela.

"There is no more room for double talk and crocodile tears. You who control the economy must apply pressure on the government. Our people are demanding that you refuse to pay taxes unless the government meets our demands," said the message.

[11 Oct 86 p 12]

[text]

THE campaign of the United Democratic Front (UDF) is not limited to South Africa, but include international action.

In this regard it should be noted that two patrons of the UDF, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, and Dr Alian Boesak, Moderator of the Reformed Church in Africa and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, were particularly prominent in articulating an international campaign which succeeded in bringing about sanctions.

Active

Archbishop Tutu was demonstrably active in this regard, with the focal centre of his campaign being the United States, where President Ronald Reagan's veto of a punitive sanctions Bill was overridden by Congress.

An article in Isizwe (The Nation) journal of the UDF last November

was carried under the headline "UDF and the international struggle" which looked at how the UDF was able to make important international gains out of the Durban British consulate affair.

"The international goals of the United Democratic Front are in no way different from its internal goals," it states.

"In both internal and external struggles our strategy has been to isolate the racist regime from any support, to mobilise the greatest possible support behind the democratic movement, and to encourage any action that will reduce the capacity of the regime to continue its oppressive system.

Strategy

It notes, however that the strategy in pursuing international goals the "specific dynamics" and special character of international relations, had to be taken into account and that the way to conduct international campaigns

was therefore not the same as mounting an internal campaign.

"We can learn from the international strategy of the Vietnamese in their epic struggle against imperialist occupation. At one stage the Vietnamese Liberation movement sought United States support against the French colonists.

"Then, in the second phase of the struggle, after the defeat of the French, the Vietnamese played off the French against the American imperialists," it said.

Diplomatic initiatives had to be measured against overall goals, and had to "advance the struggle to end apartheid" including "loosening the ties between the regime and its sympathisers."

Relationships with states whose internal policies were repugnant to the UDF "may ... be in the interests of the UDF provided they serve to advance our struggle".

Adept

In conducting a sophisticated domestic foreign and domestic policy, the UDF had to be adept at "direct attacks and responses" and at "spotting and exploiting differences in the enemy camp".

"Even wit hout and out reactionary governments our job is to make it difficult for them to collaborate with apartheid," it states.

The article went on to highlight the objects achieved when six UDF activists took refuge in the Durban British consulate.

"The six," it said, "had no illusions about Thatcher's government, but had created an entirely new theatre of struggle."

Among objects it had achieved, according to Isizwe, was wiping out "gains" made in the State President's European tour of 1984, and driving "a wedge between the South African and Thatcher regimes".

A symptom of "this tension" had been the recording of a favourable vote by the United Kingdom of a "militant anti-apartheid resolution" in the United Nations Security Council.

It had also driven a "further wedge within the Western five".

"While the UK and US were demonstrated to be collaborators, France sought to distance itself with an unprecedented appearance before the (UN) special committee against apartheid."

Ensuing anti-apartheid demonstrations had increased pressure on the policy of "constructive engagement", while the consulate six had made use of "international media coverage to speak about events well beyond their own personal situation".

The entire affair had in combination with "heavy-handed" government responses, served to "reinforce the isolation and pariah status of the South African police state".

An interesting insight into the application of its foreign policy was given in April's UDF Update where it was indicated that the organisation's reason for meeting the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group was so as not to "appear as unreasonable radicals in the eyes of Thatcher and her allies who are looking for excuses to support the South African Government".

Tactic

The UDF's tactic of isolating "the enemy" internationally was recently demonstrated when two UDF patrons, Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak, along with Mrs Winnie Mandela, pressurised Mrs Coretta Scott King, wife of the slain American civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King, into breaking an appointment with Mr P W Botha.

It has an occurrence which not only captured the headlines, but caused Archbishop Tutu to express "delight".

Attracting 'Democratic Whites' an Aim

AMONG those the United Democratic Front seeks to accommodate within its ranks are persons it describes as "democratic Whites".

The first known White affiliate of the UDF is the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), but several Whites serve on UDF bodies in executive capacities.

In July the national executive committee of the UDF issued a message to the people of South Africa in which it urged Whites to "join other White democrats

and be part of our struggle for the creation of a greater South Africanism . . ."

Threat

The message contained an implied threat. "Going back into the laager is tantamount to signing a one way ticket to oblivion," it said.

The March edition of Isizwe (The Nation) notes that "there have always been Whites who have rejected apartheid and joined the people's struggle".

In an attempt to exploit the resignations

from Parliament of the leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and Dr Alex Boraine, Jodac mounted a "Call to Whites Campaign".

"Jodac has about 50 members, mostly in Johannesburg's White suburbs, and works in the White community to bring across the message of the UDF," said the June edition of UDF News.

Objective

The objective of the "call to Whites Campaign" has been to bring the large groups of

Whites who have abandoned hope in Parliamentary politics into the non-racial extra-Parliamentary politics of the UDF, the UDF News report stated.

It claimed that 2 500 people had attended the launch of the campaign at which the speakers included Dr Slabbert, the SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Dr C F Beyers Naudé, and UDF publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe.

Among Mr Morobe's reported comments

from the meeting was that "you cannot demolish a structure and remain inside it", while he noted that the UDF had been criticised by "smaller Black organisations" for opening its doors to "the sons and daughters of the oppressors".

Subsequent actions by Jodac included the dropping of pamphlets door-to-door, house meetings and a "solidarity day with the people of Alexandra", which involved taking a group of Whites into the township to lay wreaths on the graves of "unrest victims".

Link

White backers of the UDF movement form a prominent link between it and the End Conscription Campaign, which encourages young Whites not to do their military service.

Tribute

The UDF's Claremont and Observatory area committees recently launched a monthly series of forums predominantly aimed at White audiences. The theme of the first of

these was "A tribute to Nelson Mandela," and the second was its "ANC Forum", at which UCT historian Colin Bundy, defended the violent path taken by the ANC, and along with "activist Cheryl Carolus urged Whites to join the struggle for a democratic society".

The UDF also has strong links with White student organisations such as the National Union of South Africa Students (Nusas) and a number of White student activists in its ranks.

Carefully Mapped-out Strategy To Use Media

THE UDF has a strategy to develop relations with the English-language Press and to "use these relations to our advantage".

It organises workshops to teach its members how to use the English language newspapers, which it calls the English language commercial Press (ECP).

The notes from one such workshop being circulated in printed form in the Eastern Cape, gives a broad outline of the media and the importance of the ECP because it "consistently reaches a very wide audience" in the townships and among Whites.

Instrument

It is seen as an instrument to be used for exerting "pressure on the rulers of South Africa and the economic, political and bureaucratic representatives".

It says the ECP can be used in three main ways:

- To create a profile of "your organisation and presenting it in a favourable light, as well as to express and organisation's 'progressive views'. ("The UDF nationally has been particularly good in using the ECP in this way," says the document);

- As a form of pressure against the government or "any other opponent of the progressive movement" and its organisations, which involved using the ECP to air views on issues and events. ("The international media are particularly important in this respect," notes the document); and

- "To advertise events such as mass meetings, and to 'create an atmosphere' around political events or issues, such as stayaways."

Viewpoints

The UDF document notes that although there were certain "gaps" which could be exploited by using the ECP, such as putting viewpoints to large audiences, it was "owned and controlled by the establishment".

Therefore, it would often give more of the establishment's view than that the movement's organisations, and was besides hampered by laws restricting reportage on a variety of issues.

Although there may be "sympathetic journalists" on the ECP, the "movement does not have any final control" over what was presented in newspapers.

"... We should remember that although the ECP can be used as a public weapon it is not an organisational tool as such, and we should not rely on it to perform our

organisational and ideological tasks," the document states.

Use of the ECP should be seen as a publicly-directed compliment to organisation, and this was particularly the case because it was a "capitalist commercial enterprise".

"This means that it can never, in its present form, be a paper of the people expressing their interests consistently," it states.

Available

In actually dealing with newspapers, it suggests as the first step the appointment by an organisation of a publicity secretary, who is easily available.

The document suggests using "information blitzes" to feed newspapers the "real facts" on

events. Every witness to an event should telephone a newspaper and tell them what they saw.

"If a group of 20 or 50 all take the same action the chances of victimisation are much smaller," it notes.

On Press statements, the document says that these should not be couched in the "revolutionary jargon" used in statements at public meetings.

In responding to a crisis, event or issue, a Press statement could be used in addition for "attacking the system in general", or as an opportunity to get across statistics "which the authorities deny".

Contentious

If at a Press conference there was a "strong issue" and a good turnout of reporters, "you can seize the moment to make contentious (but carefully thought out) statements".

"The more exciting the news you give the paper, the bigger your slice of the page and the more chance of ongoing coverage," notes the UDF document.

In light of the Press curbs under the state of emergency, the UDF has gone over to new strategies to convey its propaganda by using its street committees and activists to convey its message mouth to mouth. It would not be possible to counter the "State's offensive" without propaganda, the UDF states.

[13 Oct 86 p 13]

[Text]

IN SEEKING to dismantle all the existing structures in South Africa, including the security forces, the UDF wants them replaced by its own models.

Isizwe, the UDF journal, says: "We want courts where workers, peasants and teachers can be elected as magistrates. We want elected magistrates who are rooted in the communities they are serving.

"We want an army that belongs to all, in a country where all citizens are armed. We want a police force that protects workers, students and all democrats — not a police force which protects the laws of the minority and

the property of the rich," it states.

It is of importance to note that organisations' structures and affiliates have been involved not only in a widespread campaign to isolate the police, but has carried through its attack on the South African system of justice through the establishment of "people's courts".

Rhetoric

In other words, as security analysts note, its rhetoric is being put into practice.

From its own documentation, it appears that at the lowest level the structures of the UDF start with the organisation of so-called street committees, which are envi-

saged as ongoing structures in the socialistic society it is attempting to create under the Freedom Charter.

These street committees are not without importance. "We want laws that are widely discussed . . . street committee by street committee before they are even debated in Parliament," Isizwe notes.

The community is seen as the main source of the "people's power".

Each street, in terms of the theory as projected in Isizwe, elects a committee of 10 comrades, and each township is divided into zones for which the street committees elect an area committee, with an over-riding committee of 10

which co-ordinates all the areas of the township.

Divided

For example, the two Cape townships of Langa and KwaNobuhle are each divided into five zones, and the street committee representing the 10 zones come under a single co-ordinating committee.

Interviews with members of these street committees shows clearly that they are attempting to give practical implementation to the Freedom Charter, the credo of the ANC.

"What has been preached in the past about the Freedom Charter, even now we are trying to do that practically," says an interview

with a street committee member published by Isizwe.

From this interview it emerges that the street committees carry out the functions of "politicising the people," and matters such as regulating shebeen hours and taking crime control out of the hands of the police.

From the interviews it can be established that the area committees run the so-called "people's courts", which are intended to replace the courts operated under the Department of Justice, as well as units called "amabutho" (translated as regiments) which in turn are attempting to take over the role of the army and the police, and which provide bodyguards for UDF leaders.

Punish

Isizwe's interviews attempt to create the impression that these courts place an emphasis on reconciliation, not punishment, but mention is made of "Kangaroo courts", which were not "organisationally controlled", which used "violence, especially beatings", to punish offenders.

The UDF publications do not refer to how policemen, 'stooges' and 'informers' are dealt with by the "people's justice" and structures. The ANC is more explicit, and one of its publications says:

"From the perspective of underground activity a very important factor is the systematic assault on and elimination of police-

men resident in the townships, stooges, and informers."

The ANC alleged that by the time the "resistance" had been going on for a year, many of the townships affected had been liberated from many forms of colonial authority, such as the presence of off-duty policemen, councillors or 'izimpipi' (collaborators).

Reports

Also referred to was the creation of "some form of free zones" in which "underground activity of the liberation movement can be carried out minus the stubborn problems that normally dog it".

But in publications such as UDF Update articles and reports frequently appear which are aimed at isolating the police and the courts.

"The police or the courts have proved that they do not help the people. Instead they are seen as the enforcers of apartheid and the enemies of the people," a June 1986 report stated.

In recording that government functions were being taken over by "the people", UDF Update comments that "behind these moves is the understanding that democracy will not come at the moment of our liberation — it should be built in the process of destroying the old order".

A partial admission of the extent to which matters relating to the administration of "people's justice" ran out of control

and was involved in violence such as necklacings and murders is contained in a June article of Jeremy Cronin, a UDF executive member.

Tactics

"To be sure," notes, there have been unfortunate episodes. The intimidatory tactics of ill-disciplined youth, the settling of personal 'scores' through Kangaroo courts, the excessive punishment meted out by these courts — none of these can, or should, be wished away. However, they have not been the norm."

The statistics on these "unfortunate episodes" are horrifying. In the two years of unrest up until the start of August, a total of 604 people died either by way of "necklacing" or being burned to death by other methods.

Since the state of emergency was declared an increasing number of cases have been coming before South African courts of murders, necklacings and other crimes carried out against the targets of the "people's" justice.

Policemen, in particular, as well as Black councillors have been targets, as have their homes and families.

The UDF and its affiliates have been involved in a number of campaigns which seek to break down the institutions it is seeking to destroy.

Boycotts

It has been involved in rents boycotts in Black townships throughout the country, and in the setting up of its own structures in

the provision of amenities such as health and recreation.

Through its affiliates, particularly the student organisations, UDF has been at the forefront of the Black schools' boycott, and in attempts to take over Black education — an aspect also given prominence in UDF publications.

It has also been busy spreading its campaigns and organisations into the rural areas, where one of its most notable campaigns was against the taking of independence by KwaNdebele.

After considerable violence, including many necklacings, the homeland decided against taking its independence scheduled for December. The Homeland Governments are thus also targets of the UDF campaigns.

In terms of the UDF structure, the committees in the various areas fall under a regional body, which in turn falls under a national body, with each region having its own executive and representatives on the national executive committee.

Organisations within this structure range from UDF-affiliated trade unions, such as the South African Allied Workers' Union on the one hand, to student bodies, such as the now banned, Cosas, to women's organisations, to civic associations, such as the PE Black Civic Organisation, and ratepayers associations, on the other.

Vigilantes Emerge To Fight Unrest Instigators

ONE of the more recent developments — clearly targeted against the UDF — has been the emergence of groups, called vigilantes who have been attacking elements responsible for unrest.

The first known vigilante group to emerge was the so-called "Witdoeke" in Crossroads in mid-1985, who took on the "Comrades" in pitched battles and drove them out of the squatter camp.

Since then, UDF newspapers have reported the emergence of vigilante groups in many areas of the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal whose activities have resulted in the deaths of many of its activists.

One of the most serious attacks on the "Comrades" by vigilantes was that which occurred in Alexandra township earlier this year.

Concerted attacks were made on the homes of activists, and in the ensuing violence 18 "Comrades" were killed, eight of them leading activists, according to UDF reports.

There have also been clashes between UDF supporters and those of Inkatha, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, whom the UDF regards as an arch opponent.

One of the most notable of these occurred at the National Education Crisis Committee conference in Durban where an Inkatha "impi" clashed with those attending the conference. Two people were killed, and Inkatha was declared "an enemy of the people."

Other opposition to the UDF and its allies has come from the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which is considered by the UDF as an organisation of the "ultra left", and enjoys the tacit support of the Pan-

Africanist Congress (PAC), originally a breakaway movement from the ANC.

The June edition of UDF Update indicates that the split between the two organisations — after a truce last year — has now become final.

A decision to end all contact was made by the UDF's national working committee "after hearing concrete evidence these organisations' involvement in attacks against members of our organisations in Soweto, Munsieville, Port Elizabeth, Seshogo, Paarl and elsewhere", according to UDF Update, indicating that clashes between the two had become widespread.

Named in the report were Azapo and its affiliates, the Azanian Students Movement and the Azanian Youth Organisation.

Matters apparently came to a head after a group of Azasim supporters killed three members of the UDF Affiliate, the Soweto Students' Congress.

It was Azapo and its affiliates which early last year disrupted the Soweto meeting that was to have been addressed by Senator Edward Kennedy, who came to South Africa at the invitation of two UDF patrons, Dr Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Although impossible to quantify, it is clear from police and unrest reports, that attacks on the "Comrades" by vigilantes and other groupings have become a significant factor in the Black on Black violence pattern.

So seriously were these developments taken by the UDF, that in June, the organisation's Transvaal vice-president, Samson Ndou, called for the formation of "defence committees," to combat vigilante action.

/9317

CSO: 3400/292

SOUTH AFRICA

COSATU ASSISTANT SECRETARY WARNS EMPLOYERS ON POLITICAL ACTION

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Mono Badela]

[Text]

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions warned employers that it would not hesitate to take political action to protect and advance the interests of its members and the working class in general.

The warning came from Cosatu assistant secretary Sydney Mufamadi in his address at the 30th annual convention of the Institute of Personnel Management in Johannesburg recently.

He said strikes which are taking place in SA were not being agitated for from the Soviet Union but were "organically determined by the concrete socio-economic and political conditions".

Cosatu had been rightly or wrongly been defined by some people as "political unionism", he said.

"Some critics had gone to the extent of characterising it as a hijacking of labour movement by politicians."

Mufamadi said it was not true that the labour movement had been hijacked by politicians.

"As Cosatu we have taken the view, and correctly we believe, that the so-called free enterprise sys-

tem has seen and used the fact of national oppression as a lever to maximise profits.

"Any pretensions to the contrary do not alter the fact."

He warned employers that Cosatu "would not hesitate to take political action to protect and advance the interests of our members and the wider working class".

Cosatu shall take up these political struggles through the membership and structures at local, regional and national level as well as through disciplined alliances with progressive community and political organisations whose interests and whose organisational practices further the interests of the working class, Mufamadi said.

"Strikes are flowing from the employers' intransigence. In the face of that intransigence, the objective status of working people is such that it compels them to withdraw their labour," he said.

Any trade unionist who is or was a worker, and accus-

tomed to operating on the basis of mandates and feedbacks would concur with that.

He said the basic elements of the strike - work stoppage - was enriched by many variants - such as "overtime bans" and "sleep-ins". Workers were resorting to strikes because they were trying to push back "rampant exploitation".

He said Cosatu does not deny that the number of strike actions in SA was increasing but, "to argue that this is due to Cosatu's propensity for strikes will be too narrow a way of defining the set-up".

"Cosatu's affiliates have never excluded possibilities of sitting around a table with employers to work out a model of establishing sound labour relations."

Cosatu's affiliates have scored victories by a combination of negotiations and strikes, he said.

The gathering was also addressed by the outgoing US ambassador to SA Herman W Nickel and United Workers' Union of SA spokesman Simon Conco.

SOUTH AFRICA

PRINCIPLES OF NEW AZACTU-CUSA FEDERATION OUTLINED

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 6

[Article by ZB Molefe]

[Text]

A five-man executive committee heads the Azactu/Cusa federation.

They are:

- James Mndaweni (above) as president.
- Stewart Moletsane as vice-president.
- Piroshaw Camay as general secretary.
- Pandelani Nefovholodwe as first assistant general secretary.
- Mahlomola Skhosana as second assistant general secretary.

THE policy of the new Azactu/Cusa Federation - adopted by over 1 000 delegates at a weekend conference - was unveiled this week.

The policy is based on five main principles:

- Worker control.
- Black working class leadership.
- Non-affiliation to political organisations.
- Financial accountability within unions.
- Independent internal actions by unions within federation policy.

"The federation will strive to interpret the working class' ongoing struggles in terms of a principled working class ideology," the policy states.

It underwrites the principles of worker unity and "worker control based on anti-racism/non-racism to build a non-exploitative democratic society based on the leadership of the working class".

The policy spotlights:

- The national liberation struggle: The federation believes workers' oppression and exploitation "can only be replaced by a democratic society founded on the non-existence of any form of discrimination". "The most oppressed and exploited are the ones capable of bringing about desired transformation armed with the following principles: anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, anti-racism and anti-sexism."

- National and international relations: The federation will maintain autonomy and won't affiliate with international confederations, but will relate to any of them if it furthers its aims.

- Education: The federation, "conscious that education is in the hands of the ruling class to promote, perpetuate, sustain and maintain its self-interests of racism and capitalism", is committed to "continuous research to develop an alternative system of education".

- Sexism: The federation is committed to wiping out women's "class exploitation (as workers), national oppression (as black persons) and sexual oppression (by men)".

- Foreign investment: The federation believes that foreign investment in SA supports "an economic system that is geared to the maximum exploitation of the working class".

They've Joined the Federation

THE members of the new federation are:

- 1 Black Allied Mining Construction Workers' Union
- 2 Black Domestic Workers' Union
- 3 Black Electrical and Electronics Workers' Union
- 4 Brushes and Cleaners Workers' Union
- 5 Building Construction and Allied Workers' Union
- 6 Domestic Workers' Association of SA
- 7 Engineering and Allied Workers' Union of SA
- 8 Food and Beverage Workers' Union
- 9 Hotel Liquor, Catering and Allied Workers' Union
- 10 Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union of SA
- 11 National Union of Farmworkers
- 12 National Union of Public Service Workers
- 13 National Union of Wine, Spirit and Allied Workers
- 14 SA Chemical Workers' Union
- 16 SA Laundry, Drycleaning and Dyeing Workers' Union
- 17 Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union
- 18 Textile Workers' Union
- 20 Transport and Allied Workers' Union
- 21 United African Motor and Allied Workers' Union
- 22 Vukani Guards and Allied Workers
- 23 African Allied Workers' Union
- 24 Black General Workers' Union
- 25 National Union of Workers of SA

Union Wound Still Bleeds

THE trade union rift which saw Cusa and Azactu break away from last year's unity talks is far from healed.

This was the impression gained from remarks made by the president of the newly-launched Cusa/Azactu 420 126-member federation James Mndaweni at a Press conference this week.

Asked if the new federation would iron out its differences with the Congress of SA Trade Unions - formed after the stormy unity talks failed - Mndaweni cited two occasions where this was attempted by them.

"We've made several attempts to come together - this year's May Day rallies was one of them," he said.

"We received no indication. But, in the meantime,

we believe we need to consolidate ourselves. We will co-operate when they feel it is necessary," he added.

When asked whether they would join Cosatu, Mndaweni said: "We will work towards it if it comes from our workers. But we must concentrate on the black workers - they are the most oppressed."

Pressed further to elaborate on black worker leadership, Mndaweni said the new federation was independent in terms of ideology. "We believe our members will guide us and give us a mandate on these questions," he said.

On the fact that non-racialism is impractical in the new federation, Mndaweni said "this reflects the reality in our country". "We are reflecting a situation - this was our approach to the unity talks."

Asked if a white worker could join the federation, general secretary Piroshaw Camay pointed out that the federation's policy is non-racial and anti-racist.

Mndaweni and Camay also told the conference that no new name has been found for the federation - "but it will be done if our membership wants it".

● Cosatu Press Officer Frank Meintjies said the federation was a welcome development if it was a move towards an ultimate black worker unity.

"Our commitment is for one worker federation. If their formation means working towards that goal, then we welcome the development.

"We have to see their principles. We have to see if they respond to Cosatu's principle of worker unity, he said.

/9317

CSO: 3400/291

SOUTH AFRICA

OVERSEAS SUPPORT FOR NECC 'PEOPLE'S EDUCATION' DETAILED

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Mono Badela]

[Text]

THE International Conference on Academic Solidarity – which met in Madrid recently – has voted to take drastic action against the SA government.

The 46-member organisation took three wide-ranging resolutions at its Madrid summit meeting, attended by National Education Crisis Committee officials Rev Molefe Tsele and Eric Molobi and SA Council for Higher Education official John Samuel.

The group voted that:

- International support for "people's education" will be launched by Latin American, European, Asian and African countries.
- An international boycott of South African academics and educational institutions will be launched.
- It will call upon South African academics and institutions to make bold moves in severing their links with the present government and side with the forces that seek to remove apartheid in education.

Tsele said a total of 46 countries attended the conference – including the United Kingdom, Canada, Zambia, West Germany, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Argentina, Peru and Uganda.

He said the conference expressed deep concern about the state of education in SA and the way apartheid was being used to the advantage of a particular race.

He said an international support for "people's education" would be launched, meaning academics from countries in Latin America, Asia, Europe and Africa would give massive contributions to the People's Education Commission.

The commission was set up at the NECC's meeting in Durban earlier this year to work out a plan for a "people's education charter".

The academics "will be seconding expert staff to facilitate the research on people's education, an alternative to the type of education now being dished out to black children", said Tsele.

Tsele said the significance of this move was that "people's education" had now received international acceptability.

The boycott of SA academics and institutions is to start immediately. This means SA-based academics will in future be boycotted in international academic forums.

Tsele said: "We are saying that white academics were benefiting in tribal universities as well as benefitting from international forums. They will definitely be excluded in future. They will only be accepted when they are not seen to be collaborating with the system."

These institutions had for too long been condoning the status quo, he said.

"None of them is going to be excused."

CSO: 3400/287

SOUTH AFRICA

NECC REPLY TO VILJOEN STATEMENTS ON EDUCATION CRISIS

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Fanyana Mazibuko. First Paragraph CITY PRESS introduction]

[Text] The crisis in South African schools seems no nearer resolution now than it did a year ago when the Congress of SA Students was banned. Today, Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen outlines his feelings on the reasons why, and National Education Crisis Committee spokesman Fanyana Mazibuko replies. Both articles have been cut for space reasons.

BASIC to the problems being experienced in education is the question of depoliticisation of education.

I recognise the need and wish of black communities for full participation in the country's political decision-making. The government is committed to political powersharing at all government levels and is purposefully moving towards a new political dispensation. But unfortunately there are organisations trying to speed up - or even wreck and frustrate - this process by using education as a political lever. Slogans are bandied about and children are being used to "make South Africa ungovernable". Slogans such as "freedom now, education later" forbode ill for any future political dispensation since no political dispensation or government can function effectively unless it can depend on well-educated and skilled citizens.

Normalisation in education and at political levels should be speeded up through the meaningful and visible implementation of powersharing. One manifestation of political reform is the Department of Education and Training's policy of upward

mobility for blacks in education. This implies that black leaders should play a more prominent role in education up to the highest level. Last May I stated in parliament that a black Education Minister should take over my job as soon as possible.

An example of efforts to politicise education is the call for "people's education". In so far as people's education means the politicisation and brainwashing of pupils and the teaching of revolutionary ideologies and training for violent action, then obviously this cannot be allowed in schools. On the other hand, I also see some positive aspects in the call for people's education. I agree that the contents of syllabuses and the curriculum should be structured to reflect the needs and aspirations of all communities. More input from knowledgeable educationists in the black communities will be welcomed.

If people's education refers to greater involvement by parents and the community in the administration of education, this can be accepted. Because of malpractices and dissatisfaction with the school board system this was abolished and school

committees and governing bodies were instituted to let parents participate in running schools. An important recent development has been the introduction of liaison committees to consult and negotiate about the proper administration of schools. Positive parent involvement and the proper use of school committees, parent-teacher associations and liaison committees at schools are essential and can contribute greatly towards addressing all problems, including political problems, in education.

Good education is a prerequisite for economic growth and stability. SA faces a great challenge to create more job opportunities. It is necessary to stimulate the informal sectors of employment and deregulate the economy so more people will have opportunities for taking part in a free economy. Deregulation and the lifting of unnecessary restrictions on business activities have already had many positive effects in our townships.

Closely related to the creation of job opportunities is technical education. SA can no longer afford its overemphasis on educating academically

qualified people who find it increasingly difficult to be placed in suitable jobs. Recognition must be given to the valuable role of career-orientated courses at high schools, technical colleges and technikons in preparing thousands of future employees for an economy which is becoming more technically orientated.

Against this background communities should fully support the career education project of the Department of Education and Training which is intended to orientate at least 20% of all senior secondary pupils to specialise in technical and career related fields.

By the same token commercial and agricultural education should be expanded. But it's vitally essential that communities identify their needs and work with the authorities to make their needs known and to facilitate planning.

THE present political mess did not drop from the skies. It's an outcome of the political machinations of the past.

The best historical evidence that segregated, discriminatory and indoctrinatory education is a planned policy, is in the famous speech by Dr HF Verwoerd on Bantu Education. I shall deliberately not quote this.

I shall look at what is popularly thought as a policy structure applying only to white education – Christian National Education. While CNE spells the education policy of white Afrikaners, it also lays down policy guidelines for education. These guidelines are clearly meant to achieve political objectives – even though shrouded in “religious” terms.

A document published by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings in 1948 spells out the CNE policy.

I quote Article 15: “We believe that the calling and task of white SA regarding the native is to Christianise him and help him on culturally. And that this calling and task has already found its nearer focusing in the principles of trusteeship, not equality and segregation.

According to these “principles”, the article says, “the education of the native must be grounded in the life and world view of the whites” – “especially those of the Boer nation as senior white trustee of the native”.

“On the grounds of the cultural infancy of the native we believe it is the spirit and task of the State, in collaboration with the Christian Protestant Churches, to give and control native education”, the article says – but financing of “native education” must “not occur to the cost of white education”.

“Native education”, the article says, “must lead to the development of an independent self-supporting and self-maintaining native community on a Christian national basis.”

It's clear white Afrikaners deliberately planned a situation of “no equality and segregation”. Black people's education was planned on this “principle”.

There are two possible interpretations of this policy. One is that Afrikaners do not accept that Africans are intellectually equal to Afrikaners.

A second is that Afrikaners will ensure that Africans will never be equal to Afrikaners.

Both interpretations are equally hateful to black people.

Do we really need more evidence to show that the present educational mess was planned?

Poor facilities, poor teacher training, dictatorial policies were a necessary means to realise the Afrikaner objective of domination. Domination is a po-

litical phenomenon; albeit a perverted one. In short, education is political.

Conflict in education arose out of a deliberate plot by the Nationalist government – urged on by organisations whose function seems to have been to produce racist blueprints.

Another problem – created by successive white governments and the white community as a whole – is the distorted educational aspirations in the black community – where every black child wants to be a doctor or a lawyer, or go to university. This is how this distorted view of education arose:

In the past, black people were excluded by law from training in and practising certain trades. Blacks were condemned – by law – to be labourers of the lowest status in any industry. This gave rise to the escapist dream of white collar jobs that offer an escape from unskilled manual labour.

Many black educators are working hard to cure this misconception. The difference is that blacks do not aim only for the so-called “career and technical education as the be-all and end-all”.

We don't want to be channelled to satisfy the need of white factory owners and the white government. We want to enter the professions and trades at all levels.

We don't want to be mindless operators, we want to choose the level from which we enter any field. We want to plan, as well as operate and produce.

It's obvious that the ascendancy of theoretical knowledge and technical competence goes with greater wishes and capability to acquire political power.

This no one can stop. It's the attempt to stop this tide that has created the endemic conflict in SA.

SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK STUDENT LEADER SPEAKS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 17-23 Oct 86 p 4

[Interview with Thami April of the Black Students Society at Wits and executive member of Azaso, by Anton Harber, date and place not given]

[Text]

There have been many visiting lecturers at your university. Why did you choose Conor Cruise O'Brien as your target?

We are aware that there have been a number of visiting academics and we are aware that there has not been enough discussion around the question of the academic boycott. But it became an issue while O'Brien was here. In fact, it became a public issue because of his conduct. He came here claiming to be one of us but prepared to ridicule our position in public, and he has attracted a great deal of publicity around his visit and his attitude.

He was not chosen because he is someone who disagrees with us. We don't unequivocally support his (political) position, but that does not motivate us. He is someone who has chosen to contravene and publicly oppose the boycott. He put the issue on the agenda.

What is your attitude to the idea of a total academic boycott?

We support the call for a total academic boycott. We are convinced the campaign to isolate South Africa at all levels is an indispensable part of the struggle here.

The boycott in all its facets has been built up painstakingly over years. By its nature it has weaknesses and contradictions. It has been impossible to win support at all levels across the board, and to go from the point where

Jan Smuts was an accepted international statesman to the current state of isolation has been a process fraught with difficulties.

It is crucial for anyone who is part of the liberation struggle to do everything in his power to strengthen the boycott. Its weaknesses need to be sorted out, together with the broad forces that make up the liberation struggle. Support for the struggle imposes responsibilities on all of us as individuals. In that context, O'Brien's remarks and his visit were inopportune and provocative.

The boycott has affected progressive academics, too, and that is a problem, a contradiction that we must attempt to resolve. I am not sure it can be — because I'm not sure that a qualified boycott can be practically enforced.

But we must support the boycott, and those who believe in the boycott but have problems with it must discuss these in a spirit of freedom and compromise.

Does the academic boycott not harm you, as students at the boycotted universities?

Knowledge is not neutral. O'Brien, most of all, should be aware of that. I think it is a fraud and a liar who says that knowledge exists in isolation. Control of knowledge and information is at least one of the reasons this minority government has

survived. It is in that context that the campaign to boycott must be placed.

Are you not concerned about academic freedom and freedom of speech being impaired by your actions?

I cannot conceive of academic freedom apart from other, more basic freedoms. We value academic freedom as we value all other freedoms. But no government in the world has acknowledged academic freedom without qualification. O'Brien is asking us, who enjoy no rights in this country, to grant him this freedom, the absolute right to say what he pleases about this country.

We are giving emphasis to the struggle for fundamental rights. We do value academic freedom, but if it is, at any point, in conflict with our general struggle for freedom, this will override academic freedom. There are priorities in the liberation struggle. Academic freedom needs to be weighed, balanced and reconciled with more basic freedoms.

We are fighting a state that is armed to the teeth, and we have very few weapons. O'Brien wants to mock this weapon. What is worse is that he does this professing to be a friend. He has not shown the sensitivity that one expects of a man of his experience. He has been extensively quoted ridiculing the boycott and the liberation movement — so what does he expect from us?

He has got what he expected: he is being opposed by the broad liberation movement and being defended by those who support apartheid.

It is definitely in the interests of those who fight for academic freedom to fight for freedom for all. This must be fought for collectively — no individual can arrogate for himself the right to decide on strategy and tactics because he pleases. O'Brien must accept collective responsibility for these issues.

There has been concern about what has been called "mob rule" on the campuses.

This is a legitimate concern. This university has elevated their concern for freedom of speech as a priority. Now there are a large number of black students on campus who are going to influence and change the university. The challenge to the

university is how to propagate these freedoms at the same time as fully identifying with the struggle for justice and freedom. Is the onus not on the university to come to terms with its own neglect of these issues in the past?

The fear is that a minority of students will be able to decide who can talk and who cannot.

We are willing to concede that there are dangers. But we did not disrupt O'Brien's meeting. We challenged him to debate with us on the academic boycott.

But you did prevent him saying what he wanted to say?

He refused to debate with us.

So you did prevent him speaking?

Our objective was not to prevent him speaking. Our objective was to hear his views and challenge him in debate. We do not want to stop people who disagree with us from speaking. The central issue here is someone who ridicules the only weapon a weak and unarmed people have to conduct their struggle.

Does it not seem that the targets of your action will be those who claim to be your friends rather than your enemies?

Once the boycott has been clarified through discussion, then the criteria used might well not be whether or not that person has views opposed to us or not. We have not up to now tried to implement the boycott, and the most rightwing people have been here.

But O'Brien chose to make it an issue and spoke out about it. We can't speak out in this way and that is why he must understand our anger. I say this as an explanation, not a justification.

Are you going to disrupt the lectures of all visiting academics now?

Our objective is not to enforce the boycott by disrupting lectures. But we hope this incident has stimulated debate on the issue, and now all academics who are committed to a free and non-racial society will now debate this matter with students and the liberation movement to reach a position agreeable to all parties which have a legitimate interest in it.

SOUTH AFRICA

EASTERN CAPE PUPILS BECOME 'EDUCATIONAL REFUGEES'

Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-22 Oct 86 p 5

[Text]

THE closure of many Department of Education and Training (DET) schools in the Eastern Cape has created "educational refugees" -- in search of schools in the rural areas of the Orange Free State.

It is believed that about 3 000 to 5 000 students have left the Eastern Cape during the past 10 months.

THE NEW NATION spoke to pupils who are part of a group of 165 aged between 13 and 18, who left Graaff Reinet in January this year. They have remained quiet since then -- because of fear of possible intimidation and harassment.

A spokesman for the group told the story of what started as a pilgrimage of hope, but turned to a pilgrimage of pain, threats, interrogation and humiliation.

It started when a group of children from Blikkiesdorp and Crossroads in Graaff Reinet, got together and decided to continue their education elsewhere. Many parents agreed, and made great sacrifices to send their children to the "safe" areas.

Then the journey started. They were stopped at Colesberg and

delayed for 10 hours while they were being questioned by security police. Most of them were taken to a goods train and placed in a cattle carriage, while others were held for "further questioning".

The spokesman claims that some of the pupils were so scared that they jumped off at small Free State stations like Jagersfontein and Koffiefontein.

When the rest arrived at Bloemfontein station, they were received by the police, who interrogated them and threatened them with detention if they "cause trouble in Bloemfontein".

The names of the pupils were recorded. While most of them were Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking, they were ordered to seek admission only at schools where Southern Sotho was spoken.

Many of these refugees had no accommodation. They roamed the streets for days with their belongings -- trying to find placement in schools.

A large number of pupils were accepted at the schools, while others were turned away.

/9317
CSO: 3400/287

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF NEW UCCP NOTED

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 6

[Article by Mono Badela]

[Text]

SOUTH Africa's latest political grouping, the United Christian Conciliation Party, has chosen a rhinoceros as its emblem.

Is it because the rhino is short-sighted and thick-skinned?

No, the party's leaders insist - it's because the rhino is a threatened species, like them.

And, like the rhino, the UCCP has protection from conservationists - in this case the State, which seems squarely behind the new body.

UCCP leaders Bishop Isaac Mokoena and former Ibhayi mayor Tamsanqa Linda have both openly supported the government in the past - especially on the issue of sanctions against SA.

But the party still denies it is government-sponsored.

Its leaders insist that when Botha calls for new elections they intend putting up candidates to oppose the government.

Exactly who those people will represent is unclear, however, as the party is making no claims on mem-

bership.

Instead, it seems to present itself as a loose arrangement of conservative churchmen and politicians - the kind of people who can present a conservative case in foreign forums such as the US State Department.

Besides Mokoena and Linda, the executive of the new multi-racial party is packed with government supporters and community councillors.

These include former Soweto mayor Edward Kunene, Soweto community councillors Sigfried Manthata (deputy secretary), CS Lengene (assistant treasurer), J Mokoena (organising secretary) and Patrick Gaboetloeloe.

TV2 personality Reverend JE Mdlalose is the UCCP general secretary. Other committee members include SA Institute for Independent Churches Pretoria principal Dr ES Malamb, Reverend JPJ Khubheka and Reverend DE Selepe.

The UCCP constitution says it "rejects all forms of

violence, whether individual or collective."

It makes "an appeal for reconciliation", stating that the future lies with all South Africa's people and that "only free, equal and democratic rights for all can give expression to the people's sovereignty".

"Only freedom of choice and equal opportunity for all are the basis of Christian dignity and economic, social and political justice."

Linda said his party would ensure that no profits made by multinationals would leave SA.

"That will come to a stop," he said.

The UCCP also intends to fight exploitation - but at the same time is "wary of the trade union movement."

At the UCCP's launch in Johannesburg, a UCCP executive member told *City Press* its most important "target" was former Alexandra mayor Reverend Sam Buti.

"We want to recruit him. We are desperate to get his services."

● South Africa's biggest

non-parliamentary political group, the United Democratic Front, has dismissed the new party as a non-starter.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia said: "The collection of a few discredited individuals calling themselves a Christian party is a last-ditch attempt by the government to prop up a so-called moderate alternative to our people's organisations."

He said South Africa's oppressed knew who their leaders were. "They will dismiss this new group with the contempt it deserves."

Cosatu assistant secretary Sydney Mufamadi said most of the new party's officials had backed President PW Botha "body and soul" when the people rejected the "new" political dispensation in 1983.

Mufamadi said an "unholy alliance" had existed for years between "these individuals and the oppressor".

● Hours after its formation, the UCCP sent a delegation to Britain to address the British Conservative Party conference.

/9317

CSO: 3400/291

SOUTH AFRICA

CHANGING NEEDS OF BLACK HOUSING SURVEYED

Overcrowding Major Cause of Unrest

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 19

[Text]

THE enormous backlog of acceptable housing, coupled with the serious overcrowding the black population has to contend with, are seen as major factors contributing to the present unrest, especially in the townships.

That is the view of Tobie de Vos, chief economist at the Pretoria-based National Building Research Institute.

And he told *Business Day* this situation could be expected to continue, despite the high priority government has placed on housing for blacks.

"Limited financial, material and labour resources, as well as infrastructural and residential land constraints, militate against the ability of the most optimistic housing programme to cope with existing backlogs and the needs of the people expected to flow to the urban areas now that influx control has been abolished," he said.

And he added: "Because government's former homeland policy prevented blacks from obtaining full ownership of residential properties in the white urban areas, it was impossible for a housing market to develop for blacks."

De Vos said recent legislation accepted by Parliament would make it possible for blacks to obtain full ownership of residential properties within their demarcated group areas.

But the shortage of land in existing townships, coupled with the restrictions of a normal housing market because demand far exceeded supply of both land and housing, meant adequate and affordable housing and security of tenure were essential requirements for the attainment of a stable society, he said.

**Black housing needs*
in the urban areas of the RSA**: 1985-2000**

	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population				
Housing need	5 964 488†	13 658 000 ¹³	16 181 000 ¹³	18 776 000 ¹³
(5.94 persons/household)	1 004 123	2 299 327	2 724 074	3 160 943
Housing stock (1985) ...	465 901	465 901	465 901	465 901
Cumulative housing backlog	538 222	1 833 426	2 258 173	2 695 042

* Including the 1985 backlog

** Excluding National States

† CENTRAL STATISTICS SERVICE. *Statistical News Release: Current Population Survey: National Development Areas, Provinces and Self-governing National States: Blacks — November 1985*. Pretoria, Government Printer (News Release P27.3), 7 March, 1986, as well as unpublished analyses.

**Housing production for Blacks
required to satisfy the need*
1985 — 2000**

(RSA, excluding the 6 National States)

Periods	Number of units	
	Per annum	Per 5-year period
1985-1990	259 041	1 295 204
1990-1995	84 949	424 747
1995-2000	87 374	436 869
Total		2 156 820
Average	143 788	718 940

* Excluding the 1985 backlog of 538 222 units.

But De Vos warned of "unprecedented challenges" for everybody involved in all aspects of the black housing market who are faced with the daunting challenge of providing 1.8-million new homes in the period 1985-1990 to eliminate the existing backlog (estimated at 540 000 homes) and meet an anticipated need of 367 000 homes each year.

The above table indicates that the black urban population is expected to increase from an estimated 6-million to almost 19-million by the year 2000, based on the assumption that an urbanisation "surge" will occur during the five-year period 1985-1990 as a result of

the abolition of influx control. This would mean an additional 1.3-million homes required in the urban areas between now and 1990.

Over the past five years only about 8 000 units were built annually for blacks in the urban areas, against a figure of 100 000 which should have been built according to the patterns in other developed and developing countries.

In contrast to those figures, 43 099 units were built in 1984 for the 4.9-million urban whites.

As a rough guide, De Vos said, annual production of housing units equal to about 1% of the total population would meet the need once the backlog had been dealt with.

Israeli-based Minrav

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 19

[Text]

ISRAELI-BASED Minrav International has contracted to build 453 houses in Bloemfontein's black township of Mangaung.

The show house, for what will be one of the largest private housing developments for blacks in the Free State, was officially opened in July.

Spokesman David Shary said the company was "committed to providing houses to suit most needs and income brackets in the black community".

Minrav International has already built 200 houses in the R80m Protea North housing project in Soweto. A further 90 houses are scheduled for Botshabelo and 40 more for Lenasia.

Construction of the showhouse at Mangaung, which marks Phase I of the overall development, was carried out by Murray & Roberts (OFS) for the Minrav developers.

The project has been financed by loans from the National Housing Commission and the infrastructure established by a Bloemfontein-based utility company, Blomanda, which received financial assistance from the Urban Foundation.

Blacks Need Greater Subsidies

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 22

[Text]

ACCORDING to statistics drawn from the National Building Research Institute (NBRI), 84% of the black community cannot afford a low-cost dwelling without some form of subsidy.

This compares with more than 50% of coloureds, approximately 30% of Asians and 9% of whites.

The one-third interest rate State subsidy, which first-time home-owners receive, allows 94% of all white households to acquire low-cost dwellings, whereas the civil service subsidy allows 96% to do so.

The corresponding percentages for coloureds are approximately 53% and 61%; for Asians 78% and 85%; and for Africans 24% and 33% respectively.

Average monthly household income: 1985 RSA, National States, TBVC countries and SWA/Namibia

Population	Monthly income	Increase 1984/85
Whites	R2 043	11,4%
Coloureds	R 671	7,5%
Asians	R1 071	—
Blacks	R 352	28,9%

It is calculated that a figure of at least R8 000m is needed to eradicate the 1985 backlog which is 11 times that of the R750m which government has made available for low-cost housing.

Of the R8 000m that would have to be made available, the respective households would be unable to make any interest or capital redemption payments unless they were to receive interest-rate subsidies — or their incomes would have to be increased.

Sale May Pick Up

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 22

[Text]

IN 1983, government started selling off approximately 350 000 black housing units to tenants at extremely low prices.

Yet, so far, only 44 000 have been bought and of that figure, more than half were bought on the West Rand.

But the slow sales, despite the rock-bottom prices, are likely to accelerate in future as a result of changing government policy and the changing attitudes and perceptions in the black community.

Sale of houses in Black urban areas: RSA — MAY 1986^{1,2}

Region	Total number of houses for sale	Houses sold in May	Total sales to date	Total % sold
Eastern Transvaal	4 123	16	389	9,43
Western Transvaal	6 415	6	512	7,98
Central Transvaal	24 633	46	1 429	5,80
Northern Transvaal	1 163			
Highveld	11 337	59	2 236	19,72
East Rand	79 394	48	3 053	3,84
West Rand	100 566	576	28 614	28,35
Eastern Cape	34 045	86	1 735	5,09
Western Cape	20 041	87	591	2,94
Northern Cape	10 786	80	1 834	17,00
Natal	9 681		14	0,14
Orange-Vaal	26 416	22	1 332	5,04
Southern OFS	17 040	44	2 111	12,38
Total	345 640	1 070	43 749	12,65

The selling prices of these homes (each of which includes a site of between 200m² and 300m²) vary between R800 and R8 000 with discounts of up to 40% available in certain circumstances.

This means that some of the houses sell for as little as R480, excluding administration and transfer costs of around R300.

The discounts apply as long as the selling price is not less than the original cost and also provided the house is bought before the deadline — some time in 1987.

Houses less than two years old are sold at cost price without any discounts.

Explosion of Ghetto Housing on Reef

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 22

[Text]

NOW that influx control is no longer government policy, the explosion of low-cost housing ghettos could pose mind-boggling problems for environmental planners.

And while much has been said about protecting the coastal environment, the problem will be felt more keenly on the Reef, where more blacks will settle than around the coastal centres, says chairman of the SA Property Owners' Association (Sapoa) housing committee James Croswell.

He comments on a report-back from a recent conservation conference in Namibia. Dr Alan Heydorn, advisor to the SA Council for Environmental Affairs, said there that urban influx to coastal areas would create vast pressure on the environment, especially on the Cape Peninsula and the Cape Flats — where the need to house an additional 750 000 people during the next decade would make it an ecological crisis zone.

But Croswell, one of SA's leading civil engineers, believes that real environmental pressure will be felt inland, since blacks are more likely to move to existing urban areas around the Reef.

Major low-income housing developments will become dominant in inland areas close to industrial centres. Obviously, certain pockets will develop around Port Elizabeth, but only if the car industry

emerges from its doldrums, Croswell says.

Government is trying to protect the coastal environment by imposing a ban on property development within 500m of the high-tide coastline.

Croswell says: "Although Sapoa welcomes government's concern over the preservation of the coastal ecology, it hopes that the new Act will not become an added excuse for extra red-tape to deter or ensnare urgently required low-cost housing developments.

"A permit for development should be issued, subject to the compliance of conditions set down by the Environmental Impact Assessment body.

"The majority of township developments along the coast are small-scale, as they are aimed primarily at the upper-middle income group planning to retire along the coast."

Ecologists are concerned that the Kuils River carries far more water (recycled sewage from the Cape Flats) than it was evolved to do.

Croswell believes, however, that this problem will be short-lived: "As water becomes an increasingly rare commodity, it will be recycled for human use rather than left to become an effluent washed away by rivers towards the sea.

"If drought-stricken SA, excess effluent which now swells rivers will stop being a problem."

Household Subsistence Levels

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 16

[Text]

STATISTICS produced for this survey from a number of sources, most notably the National Building Research Institute and Market Research Africa, show only about 25% of SA's black population can make some contribution towards their housing costs.

In 1985 only about 12% could afford a building society bond of more than R20 000.

More than half of all black households are financially unable to make any interest payments in respect of housing loans and an additional 10,2% cannot afford a housing loan of more than R2 852 at normal building society rates.

If they were to qualify for the interest rate subsidy available to first-time home buyers, they would be able to afford a R4 000 housing loan.

The housing subsidy made available to civil servants would allow the head of a household falling within this income category, to take on the commitment of a R8 600 housing loan.

Less than 12% of black households are able to afford an unsubsidised loan of more than R30 000. *

First-time home buyers and civil servants who qualify for subsidies and earn R750 a month would qualify for loans of R44 000 and R64 000 respectively.

This table was prepared by Market Research Africa and affords a basis for assessing the problem of affordability.

What proportion of its income a

Monthly household subsistence level: September 1985

Population group	PHSL*	Transport	Rent	HSL**
blacks	R290,00	R19,00	R36,00	R345,00
Asians	R317,00	R25,00	R59,00	R401,00
Coloureds	R298,00	R19,00	R51,00	R368,00

- * Primary Household Subsistence Level
- ** Household Subsistence Level

Average monthly household income: 1985 — RSA, National States, TBVC countries and SWA/Namibia

Population group	Monthly income	% Increase 1984-85
Whites	R2 043	11,4
Coloureds	R671	7,5
Asians	R1 071	—
blacks	R352	28,9

household should pay for housing is a subject of constant debate with planners and authorities and the views vary widely.

Building societies operate on a figure of 25% as the norm. In the US, the figure ranges somewhere between 20% and 30%, while in the socialist countries of Europe it is between 15% and 20%, and in developing countries 10% to 15% is considered realistic.

The ability to afford housing is related to the subsistence level of the family in terms of satisfying basic needs.

An All Media and Products Survey analysis says the average stated monthly income of black households in SA (including the TBVC states and Namibia) was R352 in 1985 — an increase of 28,9% over the 1984 figure of R273.

'Informal Settlements' Around Cities Increase

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 16

[Article by Willie Harris]

[Text]

THE numbers game is changing the face of SA in more ways than one. The black population explosion is expected to cause a surge of more than 4-million rural blacks into the country's major cities in the next decade — or thereabouts.

The country will have to accept the existence of townships on an "informal settlement" basis around major cities.

And government and the private sector are gearing up to face this challenge, although there is still a dearth of information on just what methods will be used.

This *Business Day* survey contains a wide spectrum of opinions from people involved in meeting the problem — and it would appear that the key to the solution is the offering of "options" to blacks requiring shelter.

The options are likely to range from minimum servicing — like a water tap for 20 families who will then be allowed to build their own shacks with whatever materials they can afford — through toilet-plus-tap and a small loan for R3 000 to R5 000 to buy specified materials from a central depot, to the construction of a "core" house of two bedrooms which can be added to as the homeowner can afford it.

On the higher scale, for families with a minimum total income of R380 a month, the building societies are stepping in to help, with the Perm Building Society leading the way.

During the past year, the Perm has lent nearly R150m to blacks and is lending at the rate of R25m a

month. The United Building Society is also coming on strong with loans of almost R100m during the same period.

The Housing Trust, started by government with R400m as "seed" capital to encourage private sector finance, is still in the birth stages, but it appears that the existing financial infrastructure will be adhered to.

The main problem is that 80% of the black population about to migrate to the urban areas can afford little or nothing in the way of housing, and shelter of some kind must be provided to avoid a dangerous social situation with health risks and rising crime.

Above all other considerations is the fact that housing is vital for political stability in such a massive rural-to-urban metamorphosis.

Two other positive factors must be taken into consideration — the increased employment opportunities which will be created, and black willingness to play their part in the form of "Sweat Equity" — building their own shack, shelter or home by themselves.

The "Sweat Equity" concept is illustrated in the article on the Daveyton development at Holfontein, but the necessity for installing infrastructures for servicing those areas will also provide job opportunities for contractors who will need to use heavy machinery in many cases, particularly in more up-market developments.

But the question of affordability remains central, and in this area finance at rates lower than the present market rates, through subsidies of one kind or another, look to be essential.

PWV Region Could Ease Black Housing

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 15 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by Linda Ensor]

[Text]

APPROXIMATELY 8 000ha of land has been proposed by government for black housing development in the PWV — just under half the estimated 17 200ha required to cope with growth projections until the year 2000.

Two major proposed townships — "Norweto," north of Johannesburg (3 000ha), and "Kwasaduza," between Springs, Brakpan and Nigel on the East Rand — comprise most of this additional land.

A small portion of the remaining 2 000ha is on the outskirts of Soweto, while about 700ha has been identified in Daveyton, Tokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong on the East Rand.

Officially, the Central Witwatersrand requires 14 200ha, though this estimate is contested by organisations, such as the Urban Foundation, as being too conservative; and government officials admit that the abolition of influx control and consequent urbanisation could throw out their projections.

Government could be looking to the far West Rand region to make up the shortfall due to the limited available land in the PWV areas for which guide plans or draft guide plans exist.

Eli Enslin, director of physical planning for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the plan for this area — which incorporates the black townships of Kagiso, Mohlakeng, Bekkersdal, Khutsong and Wdela — is nowhere near completion.

The guide plans for Greater Pretoria and the Vaal River Complex have been adopted, while those for the Central Wit-

watersrand and the far East Rand are still in draft form. The guide plans lay down land us-

ages. The two fully-developed black townships in the heart of the Greater Pretoria region — Saulsville-Atteridgeville and Mamelodi — have no room for growth.

Soshanguve, on the border of Bophuthatswana and to the extreme northwest of Pretoria, has been substantially extended to absorb the overflow from the townships and the influx from the homelands.

Resistance

Apart from the barriers to black residential development caused by the Group Areas Act, the lack of land and community resistance, regard also

has to be given to the fact that government's housing policy is closely tied with its strategy of industrial decentralisation.

On the Central Witwatersrand, recommendations were made for industrial land to be frozen, while those for the "programmed provision of new industrial land" in Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, and for the expansion of the petrochemical industry in Sasolburg, in the Vaal River Complex were adopted.

The draft guide plan for the far East Rand recommended that, as regards new industrial land, "preference should be given to the northern parts of the far East Rand (Springs and Brakpan)." In fact, the largest allocation of industrial land was recommended for Springs.

Delayed

Problems have arisen regarding this draft plan, which was completed by 1984. Official approval was delayed, apparently due to strong objections by interest groups and other complications. Ens-

lin hoped it would be finally endorsed by next year.

The Guide Plan committee recommended that Daveyton and Vosloorus be allocated more land to sap up the overflow from townships such as Wattville and Thembisa, which had reached the limits of their growth.

About 1 908ha is in the process of being purchased by the private sector and the town council of Vosloorus for residential development, which will double the present size of the township and provide housing for about 300 000 people, and negotiations are under way for the purchase of an additional 800ha in Katlehong.

However, the major part of the 2 450ha identified for black townships on the East Rand would be involved in the linking-up of Tsakane, KwaThema and Duduza to form "Kwasaduza".

In the Vaal Triangle the residential growth point identified by government planners was Sebokeng-Evaton, on the northern border of Vanderbijlpark's industrial heartland.

/9317

CSO: 3400/360

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

NECC SLAMS SATV PROGRAM--The NECC and the Transvaal Students' Congress have condemned "the authorities" for using SATV for what they described as "moves to discredit black parents who have children in private schools." NECC spokesman Eric Molobi said: "We see this as a sinister move aimed at instigating people to act against certain parents." He said the NECC received a statement from the student leadership denying the views expressed by David Gogotya on SATV's Network program. [Text] [Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Oct 86 p 1] /9317

BOPHUTHATSWANA OFFICIALS' SPENDING CITED --The Bop government pays-- and its cabinet ministers have fun. MPs in the bantustan parliament have revealed that during the 1985/86 financial year alone, the ministers exceeded their entertainment budget by R5 355,82. A staggering R23 785 511, 05 was reported by the auditor general to have been used by the ministers without authorisation from the national assembly. MP for Madikoe, Mr K.G. Bogatsu, passed a motion of no confidence on cabinet ministers because of their continued entertainment expenditure increases. He called on them to refund these expenditures "in the interest of the nation." It was revealed that Defence Minister Brig H. Riekert has exceeded his budget by R2 400. Chief S.V. Shuping for Lehurutsi said the house had approved the appointment of a select committee to investigate the spending of government officials because they had realised that the country's financial position was a "disgrace." He called on Finance Minister Lesley Young to answer to press reports that Bop is broke. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-22 Oct 86 p 5] /9317

CSO: 3400/287

SOUTH AFRICA

HUMAN FLOOD OF REFUGEES FROM MOZAMBIQUE UNABATED

Pouring into Gazankulu, KaNgwane, Lebowa

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Susan Fleming]

[Text]

Thousands of refugees are still pouring into Gazankulu, kaNgwane, Swaziland and Lebowa to escape fighting between Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR) rebels and Frelimo in Mozambique.

South Africa announced recently that further recruitment of miners from Mozambique would be stopped and those here would be repatriated when their contracts expired but relief workers in kaNgwane and Gazankulu say the number of refugees was not likely to drop.

About 60 000 refugees have entered South Africa since early 1985. Operation Hunger is feeding more than 20 000 in Gazankulu and about 10 000 more are receiving aid in kaNgwane.

Each month about 500 refugees enter the Mhala district of Gazankulu and up to 2 000 — caught by game rangers in the Kruger Park or security forces — are sent back.

Mr Sam Nzima, chairman of the Phalalani relief committee in Gazankulu, said: "If the war in Mozambique gets worse we can only expect more refugees."

Brother Francis Padovan of the Catholic Mission in Gazankulu said: "They risk a lot to get into South Africa. They are scared to death and want to save themselves from the MNR violence."

There are claims that farmers are taking advantage of the refugees' plight. Brother Francis said:

"At the end of the month these farmers apparently refuse to pay them and threaten to report them to the authorities if they complain.

"The refugees are so frightened of being sent back to Mozambique that they flee from the farms without money. Others have said they get less than R50 a month for their labour."

Many refugees bring Mozambican money with them but cannot exchange it for rands.

Fleeing Crossfire Between MNR, Frelimo

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Oct 86 p 8

[Article by Susan Fleming]

[Text]

The fear of being caught in the crossfire between Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels and Frelimo forces has led thousands of Mozambicans to accept South African territory as home.

Thousands of Mozambicans have tried to find a new life in South Africa. The Government has refused to give the Mozambicans refugee status. They are, instead, described as "illegals" or "aliens".

The Government said last week that the recruitment of Mozambican workers would be banned and that those working in this country would not be allowed re-entry once their permits expired. This has not given the refugees much hope.

The Mozambicans started trekking to South Africa in 1983. Since then it is estimated more than 260 000 have entered South Africa, of whom about 60 000 are registered illegals.

Many of the refugees, in a desperate bid to escape war-torn Mozambique, walk for more than a week to reach the safety of South African soil.

Last week *The Star* and Operation Hunger visited several Mozambican refugee camps in Gazankulu and spoke to refugees in kaNgwane.

All of them said they had left Mozambique because of the bitter war. They spoke of being caught in the crossfire between MNR and Frelimo and of MNR soldiers raping women and the brutal murder of close family members.

One group of refugees, who had arrived in Gazankulu one day earlier, sat motionless outside a food distribution centre waiting for help. Their legs were swollen and feet cut from the long, dangerous walk and their nerves frayed from the threat of being discovered and sent back to Mozambique.

Armed with only the clothes they were wearing and blankets, the refugees spoke of the horror of living in Mozambique's rural areas.

"When we walked to Gazankulu we were afraid of landmines and of being caught, but to us live and death have become the same thing. We had to get away," said one woman whose husband was murdered in the war.

Six-year-old Cesare Makhuele is a tragic example of the plight of the refugees.

HACKED TO DEATH

He joined a party travelling across the Kruger National Park after his family had been killed following an encounter with the MNR and Frelimo. He says his father was hacked to death and his younger brothers and mother were abducted by MNR and later killed.

A woman from the Kildare refugee camp recalled how MNR forces attacked her village. They forced her to club her husband to death and then raped her. The soldiers forbade the woman to bury her husband, but after they left Frelimo forces arrived and helped her bury him, she said.

The woman then set on her journey for South Africa. "We came through the Kruger National Park. We saw lots of wild animals, but they did not attack us. It was God's will that we survived."

Some refugees have been attacked by wild animals in the Park. But, they said, the risk was worthwhile.

Aside from the fear of wild animals and landmines the new "electrified" fence installed by the South African Government is also a threat. Although most refugees had heard of the "new fence", none of them had seen it.

The Star visited a portion of the fence close to Komatipoort which was allegedly electrified, but found it was not. There are two fences, one of which is 2,5 m high and has landmine warnings on its poles. A smaller fence is a few metres away.

Most of the refugees were subsistence farmers in Mozambique and had left behind unattended fields and herds of cattle. One refugee said he had left behind 100 cows, 20 goats and "so many chicken you could not count them".

"I am sad to have left everything behind, but I was frightened."

Some refugees also brought "suitcases" of Mozambican money with them, but on arrival to South Africa discovered they could not exchange it.

The Nduna of Kildare Refugee Camp, Mr Carlos Sibayi, came to South Africa with a cardboard box of money. "I thought that I would be able to use this money in South Africa, but I have been told I cannot exchange it. Some people have brought suitcases full of money," he said.

ACROSS THE COUNTRYSIDE

The refugees in kaNgwane are not in organised refugee camps and most of them are in hiding. Relief workers say it is impossible to estimate how many refugees are in the homeland because they are scattered across the countryside.

Mr Reckson Sithole, a catechist for the Catholic church in kaNgwane who has been looking after refugees, said most of them were petrified the police would find them and send them back to Mozambique.

Father Charles Kuppelweiser, in charge of the Carolina Catholic Parish, said relief workers in the area were trying to set up camps for the thousands of refugees in the area.

Father Charles said South African authorities were sending scores of Mozambicans back to their country every week.

There have also been complaints that some farmers are cheating the refugees.

Some of these farmers had employed refugees and then refused to pay them, threatening that if they complained the refugees would be repatriated to Mozambique. Some farmers had apparently reported the refugees to the police and they had been sent back.

Home is a Tent for Many Mozambique Refugees

A blue and white marquee, reminiscent of a circus tent, is erected on the outskirts of the Lilydale Refugee Camp. This tent is the first "home" many Mozambican refugees are given when they reach Gazankulu soil.

At the height of the Mozambican exodus to South Africa in December last year the "tent" housed up to 200 refugees a night, said Mr Sam Nzima, the chairman of the Palalani Relief

Committee.

Pieces of cardboard litter the floor, to serve at night as beds for weary refugees who may walk for a week before they reach the camp.

"When they arrive we accommodate them in the tent if we cannot find their relatives. Because of the Shangaan link most of them have a relative in the area and are taken in. But if we cannot locate any family mem-

bers they sleep in the tent," said Mr Nzima.

There is a health clinic close by and the refugees are immediately given medical attention. Common disorders are malaria and scabies. Some refugees also suffer from malnutrition and dehydration. Swollen legs and cut feet are also treated.

Then the refugees are given a beneficiary card which entitles them to food and blankets.

If after a week a home has not been found for the a refugee he is allocated a site in the camp and builds his own home.

According to Mr Nzima the Mozambicans were settling in very well in his area.

"It has been remarkable how welcoming the people in Gazankulu have been," he said.

"We are trying very hard to integrate the Mozambicans into our community and we are being successful," he said.

Children Recount Nightmare Trek

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Oct 86 p 9

[Article by Susan Fleming]

[Text]

Fleeing from the midst of a vicious civil war only to face lion attacks in the Kruger National Park may sound like the plot of a Wilbur Smith novel — but for two little Mozambican boys it was a nightmare come true.

Their horrific tales of slaughter in Mozambique, desperate flight from their homeland and then running the gauntlet of wild animals and near death through starvation and thirst in the Kruger Park after reaching the "safety" of South Africa are, sadly, typical of the experiences of hundreds of youngsters now settled in a Mozambican refugee camp in Gazankulu.

The youngsters fled from war-torn Mozambique with their parents last year. The elder of the two, Salimano Mbambo (12) told *The Star* his horrific tale through an interpreter.

KILLED OX

"I was a herdboys in our village in Mozambique and my job was to look after about 25 cows. One day Renamo (the Mozambique National Resis-

tance) came to the village and killed an ox. They skinned it and told us to carry pieces of it into the bush.

"After we had been walking for quite a while we met some Frelimo soldiers and there was fighting between them and Renamo. We got caught in the crossfire.

"Some of the women were carrying babies and Renamo killed the babies and then the mothers with bayonets. We saw five or six people die in front of us.

"We were very scared and we threw the meat away and hid in the bush. We hid for several weeks, just going home to collect food. Then one day when we were at the house a Frelimo army jet flew over. They thought we were Renamo and so we were surrounded by bullets. We all fell to the ground. It was a miracle, but no one was hurt — only a cow was shot dead.

"We were so frightened that we left straight away for Gazankulu. It took us four days to get to the border and after two days we ran out of

food and had to eat wild berries.

HEARD LION

"After we had climbed the fence into South Africa we went into the Kruger Park. It was hot and we were very thirsty, but we were lucky and found some water which an elephant had dug.

"One night when we were sleeping we heard the noise of a lion. We had made a fire so we threw some hot sticks at the lion. We were frightened and climbed a tree.

"Then we waited for the moon and we started to walk. No one knew where to go, and we later found out we were walking the wrong way. But there was an old lady with us who read the stars and told us to walk in the other direction.

"When we were in the Kruger Park we reached a river and my brother was so frightened that he dropped our blankets in the water and so we lost them".

After six days of walking the weary refugees finally reached a village in Gazankulu.

SOUTH AFRICA

IMPACT ON MINING INDUSTRY OF MOZAMBIKAN WORKERS BAN EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 17-23 Oct 86 p 13

[Article by Phillip van Niekerk and Jean Leger]

[Text]

WHEN the weekly train bringing Mozambican workers to South Africa's goldfields failed to reach Johannesburg station last Wednesday afternoon, mine managers worried that Pretoria's ban on Mozambican labour, announced that afternoon, had come into effect already.

To their relief, the train had simply been delayed, and there would be no labour shortages in the weeks ahead.

Industry analysts calculating the costs of the South African government action saw that the loss of Mozambican labour would damage though not cripple the industry.

But the announcement came as a body blow to the Mozambican economy and left more than 100 000 Lesotho nationals feeling extremely nervous that similar action could be taken against them.

When the train arrived on Thursday there was no special ceremony to mark the end of an era — the last trainload of Mozambican miners, whose links with the goldmines are as old as the industry itself.

After all, it was Mozambican labour in the 1890s and the early twentieth century which laid the foundations of the South African mining industry, built Johannesburg and later bankrolled the decrepit Portuguese empire.

Unable to attract South African blacks to poorly paid jobs in what historian Alan Jeeves has described as the "dangerous, brutal and onerous working environment" of the mines, the Chamber of Mines recruited most of its labour from Mozambique in the first three decades of the gold mines.

Mozambique's peasant economy had been devastated by three centuries of Portuguese colonialism, which included the large-scale export of slaves and forced labour on the *prazos*, the large colonial estates.

Mozambicans were driven to seek wage remuneration to pay taxes and to afford the trade in fortified wine and spirits upon which whole communities, with the connivance of the Chamber's labour recruitment agents, had become dependant.

Through agreement between the Portuguese colonial authorities and the Chamber and South African authorities (in which the Portuguese received kickbacks, such as a certain guaranteed amount of traffic through Lorenzo Marques harbour), a system of tied labour emerged between Mozambique's three southern provinces and the goldmines.

On the eve of the Anglo Boer War, more than 60 000 Mozambicans were employed on the goldmines, about 60 percent of the total workforce. Its

peak as a percentage was in 1904 when two-thirds of the black workers on the gold mines were from Mozambique.

Mozambican employment on the mines remained constantly high until Frelimo came to power in 1975, when there were 118 000 Mozambicans on the mines — a third of the total workforce and the largest single ethnic complement.

Fearful of the importation of socialist ideas on to the mines and wanting to weaken its new Marxist neighbour economically, the South African government drastically cut down the recruitment of Mozambicans to the mines.

By 1977 the total number of Mozambicans on the gold mines had been reduced to its low point of 35 000.

As a further economic measure, in 1978 South Africa scrapped an agreement signed with Portugal in 1928 in which part of the miners' wages were paid to the Portuguese administration in gold at a fixed price.

By reselling this gold at free market prices, Portugal was assured of massive revenues which effectively propped up the crumbling 500-year-old empire in its last years.

By the 1980s, recruitment of Mozambican labour had picked up once more. This was given further

impetus by the Nkomati Accord of 1984, climbing close to 60 000 by the time of last week's announcement.

To the mine-owners, Mozambican workers have several attractions — their experience in the industry means they often fill supervisory and skilled positions and their desperation for work means they are prepared to work on many of the hottest and most dangerous mines.

The mining industry has a glut in labour supply unprecedented in its history, but the thesis that all black mineworkers are unskilled has long been discredited and certain individual mines are likely to be hard-hit.

Though they only constitute 12 percent of the black labour force, the withdrawal of their labour is likely to have an effect on production disproportionate to their numbers.

And certain mining houses are likely to be harder hit than others. Those with the largest complement of Mozambique workers are Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI, 25 percent), Rand Mines (22 percent) and Anglovaal (20 percent).

Anglo American, which has a policy of phasing out Mozambican labour, will be the least affected.

However, on its two most dangerous mines — Western Deep Levels and Elandsrand — Anglo still has a high proportion of Mozambicans.

A field study on Mozambican labour by Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University said of Western Deep Levels: "Because it is a very deep mine it is extremely hot for underground working conditions and it is a highly unpopular mine."

An even more pertinent example of the attractions of Mozambican labour is East Rand Proprietary Mines (ERPM), the hottest, most dangerous and deepest mine in the Rand Mines

group, which has a Mozambican complement of 43 percent — the highest in the industry.

According to the Maputo University study, during the seventies ERPM mine "went out of its way to make openings for Mozambicans and issued new Re-Employment Certificates, sometimes through the post, to ex-employees whose certificates had already expired".

In addition, Mozambican workers — whose insecurity about their jobs have made them extremely subservient to mine management — have strongly resisted unionisation and are known by management to be strike-breakers.

It is an extraordinary irony that the workers whom the government envisages will replace them are likely to be South Africans, who have a greater reputation for militancy and a strong distaste for unpleasant working conditions.

And it places the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in an invidious position because in August last year they decided at a national conference to call for an industry-wide strike should foreign workers be repatriated.

At the time the NUM was particularly concerned with threats to repatriate Lesotho nationals who comprise a large and vocal portion of the union's membership and strength.

However, the stopping of recruitment of Mozambicans is likely to strengthen the position of Basotho workers in the immediate future.

Two weeks ago the Chamber stopped recruitment of Malawian novices because of the fear of importing Aids onto the mines. This has meant that two large, traditional areas of labour supply have been terminated in a short space of time.

The primary effects of the move

will be felt in Mozambique's three southern provinces — Maputo, Inhambane and Gaza — where the population already faces famine as a result of drought and the ravages of the Renamo insurgents.

In a 1977 paper advocating the disengagement of Mozambican mineworkers from South African mines, Ruth First and Rob Davies for the Institute of African Studies in Maputo argued that this would not be possible without massive rural development in these areas.

Mine wages have tended to outstrip agricultural produce in the three provinces by a factor of 10.

"The system of labour export has been entrenched as a result of a long historical process of underdevelopment in southern Africa, and one which has left the supply states structurally dependent on the South African labour market," they wrote.

In the last 10 years this process has, if anything, worsened.

According to official sources in Maputo, quoted by the news agency Aim, the remittances of Mozambican mineworkers represented about a third of Mozambique's foreign exchange earnings last year.

For the miners and their families, the effects will be horrendous. A shantytown of men living only for the hope of a mine job has sprung up outside Teba mining recruitment offices at Ressano Garcia, close to the South African border.

Now that their hopes have been shattered, what will the fate of these men be?

And for the thousands of miners who have spent a lifetime of labour on South African mines, there remains one last train trip back to starvation before the Maputo-Johannesburg labour trains stop running forever.

/9317

CSO: 3400/289

SOUTH AFRICA

'UNEXPECTED' CUTBACK IN INDIAN EDUCATION REPORTED

Durban POST NATAL in English 15-18 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text]

THE planned cutback in Indian education dealt another blow yesterday following disclosures that many lecturers from Springfield College of Education may also lose their jobs.

Yesterday's shocker followed the weekend's announcement that 700 teachers will be retrenched at the end of the year and a further 500 new teachers — due to qualify at the end of November — will not be employed by the House of Delegates.

This unexpected move, based on a new Government formula, is aimed at bringing about parity in education over a 10-year period — but in the process white education funding will be cut by 50 percent and Indian education by 20 percent.

The formula also makes provision for the upgrading of black education by 400 percent and coloured education by 33½ percent.

According to sources, Springfield's rector Mr Leslie Peters expressed fears on Monday that some of his lecturing staff may lose their jobs at the college.

Addressing them at an informal meeting over tea, Mr Peters called on lecturers who felt insecure to look for alternative, but equal, jobs within the department when the "vacancy list" is circulated later this week.

It is believed there are moves afoot to reduce the college staff complement of 90 by as much as 50 percent.

However, no official confirmation could be obtained.

Mr Peters said he had not received any directive from the education department, but there were grave fears at his college of a staff cutback.

"At this stage they are just rumours and I cannot comment," he said.

His staff were very concerned about their future, though.

College sources said a delegation from the Staff Association were planning to confront Mr Peters later this week to get clarity on their future.

Senior lecturers, if they opt for a swap, would be able to apply for posts of deputy principals; lecturers are eligible to apply for the post of heads of department.

The president of the Teachers' Association of South Africa, Mr Pat Samuels, was furious about the disclosures.

He has sent urgent telexes to the Minister of National Education, Mr

FW de Klerk, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and his Minister of Education, Mr Kassie Ramduth, asking for clarity on the planned cutbacks.

"While we want parity in education, we don't want this implemented at the expense of someone else.

"By trimming the Indian education budget, the standard of our education will be lowered and this will be detrimental to our children," he said.

Mr Samuels said the situation at Springfield College was "tense", both among lecturers and students.

"We have also heard the department is planning a drastic staff cut-back at the college and if this happens it will cause chaos."

The retrenchment of 700 teachers, Mr Samuels said, represented a seven percent cut and this would leave a "wide gap".

"The cut means the teacher-pupil ratio would widen and this would result in teachers' not being able to give particular attention to weaker pupils," he said.

He said the Government lacked forward planning in education.

The Natal Indian Congress said "robbing Peter to pay Paul" was no solution to the country's educational problems.

"Increasing the ranks of the unemployed can only lead to bitterness, frustration, and more suffering."

/9317

CSO: 3400/280

SOUTH AFRICA

EVIDENCE OF INCREASING STATE SURVEILLANCE ON CITIZENS NOTED

State Uses Blacks To Monitor Blacks

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 12 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by David Breier]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — "Big Broeder" is trying harder than ever to watch all suspected of posing a threat to the Government, according to political and academic authorities.

Moderate academics and politicians revealed to The Sunday Star that they had recently come under State security surveillance.

But several authorities doubted the Government possessed the trained manpower resources and the ability to monitor the life of every citizen, despite its State of Emergency powers.

There is growing evidence that Government has created new strategies to get blacks to monitor themselves. The State is also making greater use of computer-age technology.

"The saving grace of South Africa is its lack of manpower," says Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town and former Stellenbosch University political scientist.

He said the State security system could not achieve "thought control". All it could strive to do was to crack down on activists mobilising people against the State.

German-born and Canadian-based sociologist Professor Heribert Adam, who has studied growing State control in South Africa and who is working in the country for a year, pointed out several examples of how the security forces were increasing their surveillance.

He cited the recent case of a black activist who was detained at a building society through his computer card. Other surveillance such as telephone-tapping would increase.

Another tactic was to make use of black co-option to the police, for example the vigilantes, the "witdoeke" and the "kitskonstabels". The State made use of blacks to police themselves and administer their own poverty.

Professor Adam predicted the police would concentrate on monitoring black activists whom they saw as the real threat. He said whites would come under police surveillance only if they made contact with black activists. "United Democratic Front whites make an impact only if they organise with blacks," he said.

The one white organisation which attracted police surveillance was the End Conscription Campaign.

He said as the State found it more difficult to maintain surveillance of black activists, it resorted to "crude intimidation". The use of "witdoek" vigilantes against activists in Crossroads would become a model for State action.

Professor Adam believes growing unemployment actually makes blacks more compliant rather than more militant. Survival became their priority and they feared losing their jobs. Unemployment also enabled the Government to co-opt black vigilantes from the jobless.

He believes use by activists of methods such as the "necklace" actually drove co-opted blacks closer to the Government out of fear. This created a new black network which could be used to monitor and intimidate black activists.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, the deputy Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Law and Order, gave examples of how he and the PFP had been kept under surveillance. He recently arrived at a Paarl township where he was met by an officer who obviously knew he was coming.

Detainees said they had been grilled on why they had approached the PFP to help make funeral arrangements.

"We are very much in a police state," he said, predicting repression would increase as democracy degenerated. "They will make more use of the big

stick rather than discreet surveillance."

Rand Afrikaans University political science lecturer, Mr Koos van Wyk, said he had little doubt informers attended lectures given by the RAU political science department. He said people attended courses for a month or two and then disappeared. He had learnt to recognise them.

In one case it was found that a student leader who had failed his exams became an informer to settle his grudge with the political science department.

Mr Van Wyk said the Government lacked legitimacy. Many who opposed it peacefully in the 1950s turned to violent protest. "To keep power the Government has to control its opponents and neutralise them," he said.

Reality of 'Orwellian Nightmare'

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 12 Oct 86 p 14

[Text]

But to what extent is "Big Brother" really watching you?

There are those who claim that not even the State with its Emergency powers can watch all the people all the time.

Then again, why does "Big Brother" have to be confused with "the State" all the time?

Telephones and rooms are bugged — not always by the "bad guys" — one cannot board an airplane without being searched by metal detectors, some job-seekers will not be hired unless they pass lie-detector tests and one's credit rating goes for a Burton worldwide with one slip of a plastic card.

Indeed, in the strictest Orwellian terms, a Johannesburg company is marketing a mobile video unit that can eavesdrop from long distance, by day or by night.

This a refinement on surveillance vehicles using directional microphones to transmit "private" conversations to a central monitoring point. But, in the main, the intrusions are generally more subtle.

It may be argued that it is desirable to have security systems that keep pace with technical advances. But when do the basic requirements for crime-prevention pass into the realm of social control?

Controversy still rages, for example, over the Government's decision to fingerprint all South African residents for the new identity documents.

And some potentially very useful measures have had to be scrapped because they either impinged on an individual's privacy or were deemed to be unfair.

For instance, Hong Kong authorities began testing a plan over two years ago to charge drivers of cars for the actual amount of time they used roads in the central business district during peak hours.

Checkpoints on main roads picked up the "fingerprints" of vehicles carrying a device the size of a medium-sized book.

Trouble was there were "Big Brother" aspects to the system. Conceivably a wife could ask her husband, when the bill for road use came in at the end of the month, why he was spending so much time in the red-light district.

But in the end, the city fathers decided not to implement the scheme because like all good politicians, they feared they wouldn't be re-elected. The argument that convinced them to back down was that affluent people would merely pay up and it was the less well-off driver who would be deterred from bringing his car into the city centre.

"Inequitable" was the verdict.

"There was an economic case for doing it (controlling traffic flow into the CBD) that way," said Professor Richard Brown, the expert on traffic control in the Wits University civil engineering department. "After all, satellite systems can identify objects on the ground, anywhere."

And is it an invasion of privacy for a transport company to give drivers suspected of "having a few" a breathalyser test before they commence their day's duties? Questions like that remain to be answered as surveillance technology advances.

Lie Detectors

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 12 Oct 86 p 14

[Article by Guy Jepson]

[Text]

THE defunct passbook, which recorded the movements of millions of the nation's blacks, will actually be missed by many employers.

Scrapped for a supposed non-racial identity document, the dompas represented a rudimentary curriculum vitae for anyone intending to hire the bearer, according to Mr Austin Tod, head of a major security training organisation.

Commerce and industry, he said, will now have to devise their own staff-monitoring systems.

Two screening devices available to employers are lie-detectors and voice stress analysers.

For lie detection, the subject being tested is wired up to a machine that monitors body functions. Theoretically, the blood pressure and perspiration readings of a person not telling the truth would increase markedly.

Last year, following the widespread adoption of lie-detector tests by firms in the retail industry and subsequent dismissal of several employees on the basis of "evidence" gleaned from the tests, trade unionists and psychologists were unanimous in their condemnation of lie-detector surveillance.

The controversy came to a head when the Industrial Court ordered CIM Deltak to reinstate two workers dismissed for alleged theft after taking lie-detector tests.

The presiding officer held that "from the point of view of the law of evidence, the court cannot ignore... expert opinion which holds... that the use of a lie-detector machine, for the purpose of establishing a person's guilt or innocence, is reprehensible on scientific, psychological and ethical grounds".

In spite of this judgment, and the fact that the results of lie-detector tests are inadmissible as evidence before South African courts, the gadgets are in greater demand than ever today.

Mr Errol Ashman, managing director of the Employers Mutual Protection Society, said his company, which specialises in the use of lie-detectors in checking references, "works on-and-off for most major retailers in the country".

Miss Dulcie Hartwell, general secretary of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers (NUDAW), told The Sunday Star that as subjecting people to lie-detector tests is a practice unrecognised by South African courts, she can only assume that they are used to harass and intimidate workers. "I would undergo such a test only as an absolute last resort, if I was absolutely desperate to get a job," she said.

Mr Tod's company, Security Operating and Training, uses a "psychological stress analyser" which measures stress in vocal cords

when screening applicants — mainly security personnel — for client companies.

Mr Tod said SOT preferred this voice-monitoring device to lie-detectors, which were "traumatic" as they involved the "wiring up" of the applicant.

But our courts do not recognise VSA's either. And arguments advanced by Mr Tod for the recognition of the SOT-sponsored device — that the tests are not forced on applicants, that they are merely a guide to the applicants' personality and that they produce accurate results in the great majority of cases — were all considered by the Industrial Court when it assessed the validity of lie-detector tests.

However, in the absence of legislation prohibiting the use of these kinds of devices, the practice of assessing human worth by machines is likely to mushroom.

When profits are threatened by the emergence of a less controlled labour force in a context of high unemployment and crime levels, rigorous reference checking systems are essential. This, at least, is the message the champions of the Polygraph and the VSA are sending to Commerce and Industry.

And, as unionists point out, hundreds of thousands of South Africans are desperate for jobs — jobs that could well depend on the whims of machines.

Computers

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 12 Oct 86 p 14

[Article by Melanie Gosling]

[Text] If you're a poor credit risk, there's no place to hide.

With today's sophisticated computers, even if you change your identity number slightly, swop your initials around or give a false address, the chances are the central credit bureau will catch up with you.

Dun & Bradstreet, who run the country's largest credit bureau with over 6 million South Africans on file, say computers have revolutionised their job.

"On the old manual system it would take us about half an hour to trace someone with a common name. Now it takes seconds," Ms Rosemary Anderson, the company's PRO, told The Sunday Star.

"Some people who have unpaid bills or court judgments against them for fraud will change the first section of their ID number when they apply for credit again. But with computers they can't get away with it. Our range finder system can still trace them on the other section of the number."

Any application for credit at any major retailer or finance house is usually referred to Dun & Bradstreet for a credit check. The person's name and personal details from the application form are fed into the computer. If they have never applied for credit before, there will be no data on them.

If they have, each previous credit application for the last five years will show up on the computer, including all previous addresses, previous inquiries, and any civil court judgments against them.

"We have agents who collect all civil judgments involving credit and these are fed into the computer daily. This includes the plaintiff's name, the case number and the amount of money involved," Ms Anderson said.

The credit bureau has about 48 000 inquiries a month.

Apart from individuals, Dun & Bradstreet also has 130 000 companies on file and is linked up by satellite to about 5 million companies in the United States.

Some companies who don't want to telephone the credit bureau every time they want to do a check, have their own terminals in their offices which have access to Dun & Bradstreet's computers. They pay according to how much they use the system and are given a security code which is confidential.

Privacy Is Not Guaranteed as Hackers Access System

COMPUTERS of a large number of South African companies can link up and "talk" to each other.

According to Professor Mike Rodd of Wits Electrical Engineering Department it is not easy to do this, but it is possible. This means different companies could have access to classified information.

"The whole problem of privacy of information on computers is being studied intensely in the United States where computer hacks have done some pretty horrific things. Right now not very much is known about it," Prof Rodd said.

"In South Africa a large number of companies are linked up to Saponet so it is possible to link up to a different computer through Saponet. This requires quite a bit of expertise however."

Mr Neil Harris, a consultant on computer security, said ICL computers were the only ones approved by the United States Department of Defence — "They have their security built into their hardware."

Phone Taps

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 12 Oct 86 p 14

[Article by Jon Qwelane]

[Text]

IS THERE a bugger in a dark little office somewhere who spends his time eavesdropping on other people's phone call?

Some time ago Archbishop Desmond Tutu had a phone conversation with the president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana.

Someone was eavesdropping and he evidently did not like what the two men were discussing.

Forgetting — or not caring — for a moment that he was an intruder, the bugger interrupted the conversation and shouted over the line: "Nou praat julle k..."

Neither man was surprised by the interruption — both had long suspected their lines were bugged — and the unruly interruption merely confirmed their doubts.

According to the Minister of Communications and Public Works, Dr Lapa Munnik, his department does not have a man sitting in a "dark little office" putting names on, or deleting names from, a specific list of people under surveillance.

But the denial may be outdated, because it was made slightly over two years ago when Dr Munnik failed to answer Dr Van Zyl Slabbert categorically on whether the former Leader of the Opposition's phone was bugged.

At the same time Dr Munnik, speaking in Parliament, answered Dr Andries Treurnicht's similar query: "We have better things to do than to tap the telephone of the honourable leader of the Conservative Party. I

cannot see that he falls into the particular category of being a problem to the State."

He said no single list of people whose phones were tapped existed and no special list was put on his desk every morning.

Saying tapping was carried out in other Western countries, Dr Munnik added that communications to and from particular people were intercepted when this was "essential in the interests of State security".

In March last year the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said neither he nor any member of the police had in the previous three years, for which figures were available, authorised the tapping of any telephones.

Mr Vlok explained that senior heads of the police

must submit a written request to the Post Office, certifying that the telephone tapping was necessary "for the maintenance of the security of the State".

Section 118(a) of the Post Office Act provides for State security, intelligence services and army services to intercept telephone conversations under certain conditions.

Last year Captain Dirk Coetzee, previously attached to the Radio Unit in Pretoria, sent a report to Dr Slabbert and Mrs Helen Suzman in which he stated that illegal phone-tapping "on a large scale" by the police was taking place — and it had nothing to do with the security of the State.

Captain Coetzee, who was dismissed from the force, said in the report his attempts to stop the "serious abuses" of provisions of security legislation and the invasion of individuals' privacy had led to his dismissal.

An important case came before the courts last year, in which a suspended police station commander urgently applied for an order compelling Dr Munnik to disclose whether he had authorised the tapping of his telephone, and on what grounds.

Major Hennie Nel of Krugersdorp was sus-

pended from his duties pending his trial on 31 allegations of bribery and fraud.

At a previous hearing, before a lower court, the State disclosed Major Nel's telephone had been tapped.

But Mr Acting Justice F S Steyn, dismissing the application, said the courts would only consider ordering the Minister to disclose whether he authorised tapping of phone conversations if grave and unjustified abuse of the laws permitting tapping was shown.

Deputy Postmaster General, Mr Janse van Vuuren, while admitting the policeman's line was tapped, said the Department of Posts and Telecommunications provided only authority and technical advice for tapping.

The PFP later said the tapping of Major Nel's phone appeared to sidestep the Post Office Act, and Mr Vlok replied that calls were bugged according to Section 118(a) of the Act.

Another criminal case in which phone-tapping was admitted by the State involved former Korean War flying ace Brigadier Jan Blaauw and Mr Frans Whelpton, former private secretary

to the former Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha.

The tapping of the men's lines was confirmed by a senior Deputy Commissioner of Police, Major-General Jan Grobbelaar, and also by Mr Le Grange.

An Afrikaans newspaper reported that in an interview with the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, he had said the police listened in to phone calls other than those connected with security matters.

The Ministry of Law and Order, however, denied the general had given the interview and said he had been quoted out of context and was of the view that police only listened to phone calls within the law.

But Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party MP for Jeppe, said his party had indications that the police were listening in to calls made by CP members.

Whether the tapping of phones is restricted to individuals perceived to be a "danger" to the security of the State, the fact is that many South Africans, particularly those actively campaigning against apartheid, are suspicious that their lines are bugged.

No One's Talking About Phone Taps

THERE are three basic methods of tapping telephones, according to a leading private investigator who also specialises in de-bugging.

Mr Phil Pirie says many people could be paranoid about their lines being tapped — crossed lines sometimes exaggerated such fears, and the telephones sometimes sounded "hollow" and prompted people to be overly suspicious.

Many individuals and organisations suspect their telephone conversations are being listened to, but there is no way of allaying their suspicions because the Postmaster General does not deem it "in the national interest" to disclose the extent of the tapping.

Mr Pirie says one type of bugging device is battery-operated and its effectiveness depends on the life of the battery.

The second is attached to a wall socket or the wires carrying current in the place being bugged. This device which is attached to a telephone or electric light has a constant supply of energy and can be left for long as it's needed.

The third type is powered by the sun's rays, and also has an indefinite lifespan.

"But there are other, more sophisticated devices. For example — and I am not saying the police do this — the easiest thing for anyone empowered by the Post Office Act to tap people's telephones would be to listen in right at the post office.

"He would not need to tap the telephone at the home of the person being screened but would attach his devices to the point of origin of the wires.

"In the United Kingdom, for example, there is a centre working under the GPO where more than 1.5 million telephone calls are being monitored every day. This happens in other countries like the United States and the Soviet Union. I am not saying it happens here, but it would not surprise me if it did," he says.

De-bugging bugged premises can be a problem, especially where the device is not located in the premises but is attached to the telephone wires. Its transmission frequency must be followed every inch of the way along the line, but if it is connected to the wires right where they begin then the chances of doing anything about it are nil.

Mr Pirie does not believe a wrong telephone can be tapped by mistake: "The chance is remote because blokes (doing the tapping) know what they are doing. They also test the bug after attaching it, and once they are tuned to the wrong person they dismantle it and do it right."

A private detective, for instance, tapped three telephones without the Post Office's permission and last August he was convicted by a Johannesburg regional magistrate and fined R100 (or 100 days) on each count.

Magistrate J S van Wyk said the detective's actions were a serious infringement on people's privacy.

But a Johannesburg man, Mr Chris Roestorf, recently announced that he had a sophisticated bugging device he wanted to sell to the public.

Mr Roestorf did not think there were any legal problems in selling the device, which was manufactured locally.

Mr Pirie says possessing a bugging device is not a crime in itself, though tampering with telephones without the Postmaster General's permission is a criminal offence.

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CSO: 3400/288

SOUTH AFRICA

PSYCHOLOGY OF UNREST, RISE OF KHMER ROUGE ELEMENT EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 17-23 Oct 86 pp 14-15

[Article by Jo-Ann Bekker]

[Text]

AS black children of the Eighties grow up amid increasing civil violence, with three years of disrupted schooling behind them and little hope of employment in the future, many observers are questioning whether a Khmer Rouge element is emerging in South Africa.

From a historical viewpoint, however, University of the Witwatersrand political science lecturer Tom Lodge dismisses the analogy.

"In every sense the Khmer Rouge was a vile movement which saw a holocaust of three-million killed, but what its adherents did is light years away from what is happening here," he said.

"Contrary to popular belief, the Khmer Rouge was not a group of alienated, intellectually emasculated young children wreaking their bitterness on adults. It was a movement led by French-trained Marxists who had a specific vision of how to bring about revolutionary change in Cambodia. The black youth here, while motivated by a vaguely conceived understanding of revolutionary transfer of power, are not subjected to a hierarchy of leadership and I don't see a complete and vindictive nihilism in their actions."

But Lodge, like others, is concerned about the breakdown of parental and organisational discipline, a factor aggravated by mass detentions.

In a situation where about one fourth of the 20 000 people estimated detained under the Emergency regulations are younger than 18, and allegations of torture are commonplace, do brutalised children become brutal adults?

Saths Cooper, a Wits psychology lecturer who is doing pioneering research into the issue believes the potential exists.

"When you traumatise a community through repression, through siege of townships, when you brutalise children who simply objected to the education which is preparing them for a servile

status in society ... then you can appreciate there is a very small gap between being a victim of, or witnessing, brutalisation and modelling that aggressive behaviour," he said.

"There's nothing in the prior socialisation of those youths to suggest such personal dehumanisation and brutalisation. It is clearly the result of living in a racist environment."

When children see how their elders have been humiliated and denigrated, and have no hope or aspirations for their own future, violence can be cathartic, Cooper added.

"The level of repugnance for the system is so great that very little is required to spark off a need for a cathartic expression (a violent act) to purge oneself and one's community of what is seen as just an extension of the system, if not the system itself."

The Reverend Paul Verryn, a Methodist minister who is active in the Detainees' Counselling Service, said given the decades of brutality to which the entire black community had been exposed, it was surprising "an irredeemable pathology" was not already in existence. "There is no telling what the human potential can really survive," he added.

But in the last three years, repression and resistance have moved into a new dimension: Children are regularly exposed to mass funerals of unrest victims, many of whom are children; the Security Forces have invaded black neighbourhoods and schools, while, on the other hand, there is a renaissance of political mobilisation.

"My experience as a youngster is incomparable to what my younger brother grows up with," commented South African Council of Churches worker Saki Macozoma, 29, who was imprisoned on Robben Island for five years after being

convicted of planning a march on Port Elizabeth in 1976.

"On an average weekend before the Emergency, my brother would attend a mass funeral. Several thousand people would be singing freedom songs and sloganeering. That was not the case when I grew up. A funeral was a very solemn occasion barred to children. We were scared of dead people. Also," he went on, "although many of my friends' fathers were imprisoned and then deported to the Ciskei after the African National Congress was banned in 1960, people never mentioned the organisation, they would say 'So-and-so's father was deported after the Big Thing.' We didn't speak about the ANC as if it was, you know, Orlando Pirates or Kaizer Chiefs."

Perhaps the most significant experience for the children of the Eighties, according to Verryn, is detention.

"Once you take a 13-year-old or a nine-year-old into detention, and away from his routine of parental discipline, you've exposed him to the big wide world and aged him in an instant," he said. "And when you torture him and expect from him the psychological sophistication you might not expect of a 40-year-old, then you've begun a process which must be very, very difficult to undo, and it will be almost impossible for parents to resume their former disciplinary control."

Yet surprisingly, he added, the most common reaction of those brutalised by detention was not violent aggression, but a deep depression which included symptoms of self-debasement, lack of motivation and a withdrawal from people and society.

"There's something very wrong about children being exposed to brutality," Verryn said. "And yet very often they're fascinated by it, and they're usually far more adept at it."

So how does a child who has participated in a "necklacing" — in which a tyre is placed around the victim, doused with petrol and set alight — cope with the experience?

Cooper says he has observed a "blocking off and blunting of emotions".

"Behind the facade of macho behaviour, the consequences are denied, because if faced they can result in a shattering of the personality. The psychic turmoil, extreme conflict, guilt and self-hate would be enormous," he said.

Verryn said most children involved in violent acts saw them as acts of justice, even of self-defence. "They come to terms with it believing they had been good soldiers and killed the enemy. Most see the situation as one of war."

Whether their deeds would scar children irreparably would only be evident in about five years time, Verryn added. "If they have call-backs, if they find themselves demotivated, and suicidal, we might be able to discover the full consequences."

As former head of the Azanian People's Organisation, Cooper is particularly worried about the "cauldron of youth revolt" turning in on itself, resulting in intra-community violence, such as the bloody clashes between youths claiming allegiance to black-consciousness Azapo, and its ideological opponent, the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) in recent years.

"As the enemy often becomes inaccessible and appears unassailable," Cooper explained, "it is easy to create a witchhunting pattern and deflect the violence towards those more accessible, who are part of the oppressed and exploited community."

He believes the authorities have "a direct hand in ensuring the community violence continues. I think the system is looking at a very stark conclusion, saying can we allow the death of white privilege and power, or do we create a situation where we maintain control, however ephemerally and confusedly."

The growing numbers of uneducated, unemployed youths will also be fertile ground for those able to pay vigilantes to sow further division in communities. Economists believe the declining economy incapable of reproducing sufficient jobs for the population, half of whom is younger than 21.

What then can be done to ensure the youth do not become a law unto themselves?

Macozoma — who does not believe the youth are "out of hand" — believes it is crucial not to describe the youth itself as the problem.

"I think the broad liberation movement should never ever allow the alienation of the youth from its structures," he stressed. "There will be a lot of grey areas and the youth are going to take a lot of unstrategic decisions, but they should be shown where they've made a mistake and wooed back into the fold, much more than writing them off as thugs."

"Because they can become thugs, and they can become government thugs, and that's what we should bear in mind all the time."

"The youth should understand that basically the whole political debate is give and take," he said. "There should be a preparedness to bargain, an understanding of the political situation as one where we sit and talk and differ and still go together and be comrades even if we differ on certain issues, without having to resort to violence against one another."

While most of the black community has been politicised around slogans and has a simplified understanding of the political situation, Macozoma believes this education should go deeper.

"The tendency, in an alliance like the UDF, has been to avoid moving to a coherent ideological position, because it would bring to light too many political tendencies. But I believe if we really want the youth in our hands we have to give them

ideological grounding. Experience has taught us a level of sloganeering is not sufficient for the long haul."

Cooper believes the solution lies in a "a brave, strong, creative leadership" and the speedy accommodation of the demands of the youth — "demands which any normal society would have long accommodated: political access, educational freedom, social and economic aspirations".

"If in the next couple of years there is not central intervention to begin to realistically and very seriously attempt to address the issues thrust forward by this youth revolt, and personally I can't see that happening, then the problem is going to be much more serious than it is now," he said.

"I don't believe people are completely dehumanised yet. But if in the next couple of years certain things are not redressed, then the dehumanisation will be total."

The World Through the Eyes of Young Poets

FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE

Life in nowadays is like a sick butterfly.
To many of us it is not worth living
when it is like this.
What is going on in the world around us
There are people dying
There are sign of freedom everywhere
There are SADF everywhere you look
They are either playing soccer with
the children or they are having war with
them
They little kids don't understand why they
have been put (thrown) into jail
The people demand freedom for their
loving nation
So many people have died because
they have fought for freedom
Schools, shops, houses have been
burnt because they want freedom
The population of the world is surely
decreasing. Every hour, minutes and
seconds
there is someone dying. The SADF has
tried to bring peace but they have
brought more
chaos into the townships
Maybe one day the freedom of the people
will be given to them

BOTHALE, 12 years

(Published in Ravan Press's *Two Dogs and Freedom*, writings and drawings by township children during the 1985 State of Emergency and compiled by The Open School, a cultural education programme which runs workshops for young people.)

CENTENARY

A hundred fists are clenching

but our skies are quiet
and if theirs flame it is no concern of ours
and if their hearts flame
then it is no concern of ours either
for our skies are quiet
and it is enough
that we can close our eyes
A thousand fists are clenching

our skies are still quiet
but the TV and the newspapers burn
with news of their flaming hearts and skies
and we close our eyes for it is enough
that our skies are quiet

Ten thousand fists are clenching

ten thousand angry feet running, storming
through the front pages of the evening
news,
through our TV screens
and stereo speakers

We begin to feel the heat
of their flaming hearts and skies
And our skies are still quiet
but our eyes do not close as easily as
before

A hundred thousand fists are clenched
a hundred thousand angry feet
running
storming
through our streets and parks
a hundred thousand
hate-filled voices
shouting our names in every suburb
come to share their flaming hearts and
skies
with our bodies:
And our ears will open

(and hear a country dying)
And our hearts will open
(but they will open too late)
And our mouths will open
(to scream with fear)
Then our eyes will open
and stare motionless into
eternity.

ROBYN HIRSCH

Northcliff High School, Johannesburg

(From *English Alive '86*, writings from
High Schools in Southern Africa.
Published by the Western Cape Branch of
the South African Council for English
Education.)

Young, White and Ignorant

"WE have lots of troubles because blacks are rioting. The Prime Minister should have a day when everybody can collect a gun and just kill one of them so they might just stop all this fighting."

That was 13-year-old Marco's considered response to what he would do if he were president, a question posed on a Radio 702 talk-back show last week.

"People here are becoming too soft for the blacks and the blacks are taking advantage of the whites," the non-black Johannesburg boy added.

Marco's "solution" to his country's problems was the most violent advocated during the hour-long radio programme devoted to opinions of the under-20s.

Of the 18 callers who phoned in, only two were black and very few advocated one-person-one vote or approved of desegregating all schools. In fact, the show's host, John Berks, was audibly shaken by the deep conservatism of most of the callers.

"We must give them equal rights, but we musn't let them vote quite yet," cautioned a confident Jenny, 14, of Randburg. "Because they're not ready to vote yet. They will be one day and then maybe we can let them run the country as well."

Damelin student Ray, 16, said while 'here should be gradual changes in education, these should not happen too fast. "I mean my friends wouldn't accept a black in my class. They would do something very nasty to him I'm sure."

Judy, 14, of Krugersdorp, was all in favour of extending racial segregation. "The blacks are allowed in our towns but if we go to their towns then they want to kill us," she said. "So black people should not be allowed in our towns. I think they should live in their own towns. And if I were president I would open one beach for blacks and let the others stay just for white people."

Eleven-year-old Kerry of Morningside, Johannesburg, was the only white caller who had regular contact with black children through his mother's work with an African self-help scheme. "I think the black people and white people should not be judged by the colour of their skin because it makes no difference. They've still got the same feelings and they're still humans," he said.

Others, like Robert, 14, held more expedient reformist views. "We must go multi-racial; that will solve all our problems," he said. "And I think blacks should be allowed to live where we live. Most of them can't afford to live here anyway, so, what the hell, why not let them come here."

Others were burdened by a deep sense of guilt.

"We've been taking advantage of blacks ever since the white man moved into South Africa in the first place," a teenager called Debbie mused. "We can't oppress them for so long and not expect them to do something about it."

"I wouldn't want to be president of South Africa in the first place. I'd rather leave this country. All the people of South Africa, especially all the youth, represent apartheid; we are what makes apartheid and I rather wouldn't be part of a system that does that to a group of people.

"I don't think leaving is a solution, but as far as I can see there is no answer. You can't suppress a person for so long and not expect them, like, to rise."

What the talk show demonstrated is that more than two years of spiralling civil strife has shaken white children out of the allegory, which could turn out to be blinkered, apolitical world of privilege enjoyed by past generations.

English Alive '86, a collection of poems and essays from high school pupils, similarly reflected young white guilt, fears of bloody reprisals from the voteless majority, and pleas for reconciliation and understanding before it is too late.

A Sunday newspaper reported that the Emergency had heightened anxiety problems among white school children; many had developed a neurotic fear of bomb attacks on white schools.

"I sometimes wonder who's really oppressed in this country, when you take a look at the white community who sits behind bars, chains and steel doors," said Paul Verryn, a Methodist priest who counsels both white and black people.

"White children truly are affected. There is such a sad fear and hopeless misinformation that they are actually so crippled they are afraid to spread their wings," he said.

"Amongst the white people I counsel my major area of therapy is self-esteem — whether they're 40 or 10, the first area that always has to be addressed is the issue of their self concept.

"I think what you're finding is a very inflexible, deeply psychologically disturbed white population which has lost its sense of fun. So in a sense both white and black children have lost their youth."

/9317

CSO: 3400/290

SOUTH AFRICA

SHIFTING SPECTRUM OF NATION'S POLITICS REVIEWED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR (Review) in English 12 Oct 86 pp 13, 14

[Article by David Breier]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA saw the formation of another political party and another trade union grouping last week.

And the United Democratic Front, which is the biggest anti-apartheid grouping in the country, was declared an affected organisation in a bid to cut off its overseas finance.

So it's time again to take stock of the full spectrum of our Byzantine politics which makes Lebanon look quite simple.

Last week a black-consciousness trade union federation was formed when the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) merged.

There was also the formation of the conservative, largely black, United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), which sets out to be multiracial, but will work within the Government system.

When trying to classify neatly South Africa's vast range of political opinion, people are inclined to pigeonhole groups from Left to Right. But, in reality, life is not so simple because parties which are Left in one respect can be relatively Right in another.

For the sake of convenience one can start with the Black Consciousness (BC) grouping on the far Left.

Its internal political front is the National Forum, whose lar-

gest component is the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). Its student front is the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm). Its labour front is the new Cusa/Azactu merger.

A small offshoot of the BC movement is the militant pro-Pan Africanist Congress "tendency", the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu).

The BC movement is ideologically related to the banned PAC, which is engaged in violent revolution.

Whites tend to regard the BC movement as the extreme Left because it excludes whites. It is also the most outspokenly socialist of all political groupings, insisting on socialism at all levels. But non-BC members of the Left sometimes refer to BC as "reactionary" because it is racist.

The BC itself denies charges of racism, saying that only blacks can realistically take part in the revolution against white rule, but after liberation there will be a place for all.

On the international front, the PAC receives help from countries such as Libya, although the BC movement is fiercely non-aligned and has no truck with either East or West.

Then there is the grouping that may be classified as "Charterist". Its credo is the nonracial and moderately socialist Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955.

Its internal political front today is the United Democratic Front, which has about 600 affiliates.

Its student organisation includes the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) which, in practice, caters for blacks, and the National Union of South Africa Students (Nusas) which, in practice, caters for whites. At school level, its Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has been banned.

Its trade union federation is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

There can be little doubt that it owes allegiance to the banned ANC and leader Nelson Mandela, who support the armed struggle against the South African Government.

The ANC, in turn, has an alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP). This alliance tends to be highlighted by the South African Government, which wants to turn Western opinion against the ANC. The Government and the West also aim to drive a wedge between ANC nationalists and communists.

The ANC/SACP link is played down by the ANC, which wants the West to isolate South Africa.

While the UDF is a nonracial movement, it does make provision for black, white, coloured and Indian, as well as mixed affiliates, at all levels of its struggle against the apartheid system.

The Charterist movement is a broad popular front and caters for people from mild socialists to Trotskyites. But the general consensus is that it supports a mixed economy in which some industry, mining and farming is nationalised, and in which some free enterprise exists.

On the international front, there have been Charterist links with both the West and the East. The West has been used to help isolate the Government from its trading partners. And the ANC receives arms and support from Russia.

It is not entirely clear what South Africa's foreign policy would be if the Charterists ever achieved power, but a number of analysts have predicted that it would be non-aligned, tending towards the Soviet Union, without being a satellite.

The Charterists have one major factor in common with the BC movement — both work outside the Government system and oppose any form of collaboration.

To the right of them there is the opposition working "within the system" against the Government.

There is the Inkatha movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which controls the kwaZulu homeland in terms of Government policy, but which has steadfastly refused to accept Pretoria-style independence.

Chief Buthelezi once belonged to the ANC, but is now at loggerheads with it. However, it is not inconceivable that they could become reconciled.

Inkatha's trade union front is the new United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) formed in opposition to Cosatu. The Inkatha Youth Brigade is an important component of Chief Buthelezi's grouping.

Inkatha steadfastly opposes violence. It wants majority rule in a nonracial South Africa, but is prepared to compromise with federalism. Economically, it supports the free-enterprise system. Its foreign policy is to support the West.

The liberal, largely white, but officially nonracial Progressive Federal Party has much in common with Inkatha although it openly supports federalism.

There are some Progs who favour closer ties with the UDF. Others are horrified at the idea. Its policy for South Africa is "no discrimination and no domination".

Economically, it supports a degree of social democracy with greater emphasis on the free-en-

terprise system. It is pro-West.

The New Republic Party, further to the Right, is in extended death throes and is bound to break up soon.

A further move to the Right brings one to the governing establishment of South Africa, with the ruling whites-only National Party and its co-opted black, coloured and Indian partners.

The Nats perfected apartheid, but have since reformed or modernised it on *verligte* lines. But there is still no sign that the Nats are prepared to abolish all discrimination and surrender power to majority rule.

Economically, they have followed a mixed economy with heavy State control, but have recently begun to support more privatisation.

They have always regarded themselves as pro-Western, but nobody is pro-them as they have become the world's No 1 polecat.

But a new breed of enlightened Nats, known as the "New Nats", has begun to emerge. They see the inevitability of majority rule, but are still too weak to count for much in the Government.

To the far Right there are the Conservative Party and the *Herstigte Nasionale* Party, which stand for partition of the race groups and total white control of "white South Africa" which, of course, includes the lion's share of the economy.

Much as they hate the communists, they are suspicious of the West and would be quite happy to have nothing to do with them.

Most people would say the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* is the farthest right. The AWB would deny this.

It believes that the old Transvaal, Free State and Northern Natal boer republics should form a "boerestaat" with an *Afrikaner* dictatorship. The rest of the country can do what it likes, black majority rule included. □

SOUTH AFRICA

TENSIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS EXAMINED

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 18 Oct 86 p 3

[Text] Business opposition to government and criticism of the slowness of change is creating major tensions and resulted in threats from ministers that action could be taken against selected business targets.

President Pieter Botha heads the list of those who have attacked business leaders for allegedly flouting the government's wishes. Some observers read into a letter from Mr Botha to John Wilson, the chairman of the Federated Chamber of Industries and of the Shell oil company, a thinly-disguised warning that the government could nationalise Shell.

Mr Botha's warning was prompted by statement from the FCI in June saying that it "strongly disapproved" of the state of emergency just imposed, and "dissociated itself from the strategy of political repression and economic isolationism. The president wrote, "Kindly do not trouble me with your points of view if you are not prepared to take the trouble of familiarising yourself with mine. Unless you, too, come to grips with the security situation in this country and act accordingly, you are bound to pay a heavy price. This is not a threat, it is a considered warning..."

The president's attack was followed by what has been described as a menacing statement to a journalist by the minister for finance, Barend du Plessis, against unnamed South African business, mining and banking leaders who had talked with the outlawed African National Congress.

Another indication of the government's dismissal of business interests was its most recent action of banning the recruitment of Mozambican labour for the gold and coal mines without consulting the industry, as it had promised. The ban on recruiting workers was also applied to farmers on the borders with Mozambique but was rapidly lifted when they protested.

I.O.N.--These tensions between business and government could boil over next month when the government plans to hold top-level discussions with 200 business leaders on long-term national economic strategy and privatisation. The government has been criticised for excluding its political reform plans from the agenda on the grounds that to discuss the economy without including political reform would be meaningless.

/9317

CSO: 3400/289

SOUTH AFRICA

INDUSTRY DECENTRALIZATION POLICY CREATES URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT

Durban POST NATAL in English 8-11 Oct 86 p 6

[Article by Quraish Patel]

[Text]

WHEN 30 clothing factories moved out of Durban to set up business in rural areas, Government planners saw years of work come to fruition. The thought of another 15 factories moving out of the city this year is a bonus to those planners.

The records will tell a success story of entire factories moving to rural areas to "develop" the people, creating thousands of new job opportunities.

But the records won't show the effects of this policy on clothing workers who have spent most of their lives in the industry. Like Mrs Meena Naidoo.

A machinist for four years, she was retrenched when the factory moved to Isithebe, in KwaZulu, and is among the 15 000 workers hunting for jobs in a shrinking city industry.

A Chatsworth mother of three children, she has never really understood why she was retrenched, and explanations by officials of the Garment Workers' Industrial Union confused her even more.

The policy of decentralising industry does not make much sense to the union's general secretary, Frankie Hansa.

"It's creating massive unemployment in the city. It's all very well to develop the skills of people in the decentralised areas, but what about the skilled people walking the streets looking for jobs in the city?" he said.

"Transferring jobs from the city to decentralised areas creates more problems than solutions."

The result is unemployment in the cities and low wages in the growth points determined by antiquated labour legislation. Unionists are not even sure which labour laws apply in homeland areas.

Industrialists point to job creation in rural areas to justify their businesses there. They conveniently forget to talk about their profits.

One of the major problems of the Garment Workers' Union was finding money to help the hundreds of unemployed workers crowding the offices for jobs — or relief.

Another problem was the lack of money. A union fund dried up within weeks.

Attractive cash benefits and incentives (from the taxpayers' money) are luring manufacturers to the decentralised areas.

One of the lucrative incentives is a cash wage subsidy of R110 a month

for each worker. Where there are no minimum wage restrictions, workers are paid much less and some companies can make a profit out of the wage subsidy scheme before there has been any production at all.

One company is believed to have made R100 000 in the first year in a decentralised area without producing a single item.

As an example of low wages paid to workers in rural areas, Mr Hansa said a machinist in the city earned R74,50 a week while a worker in the decentralised area earned, on average, R20 a week.

Mrs Naidoo's retrenchment came suddenly; but it was not unexpected.

"From about 1981, companies were quietly moving their operations to decentralised areas — like Isithebe in KwaZulu — without incurring any costs. The massive incentives ensured healthy bank balances. The city factories were kept going while the rural ones prepared to come on line. When the rural factories were able to match production in the cities, the manufacturers made their move.

"Companies used the recession to shift production," said Mr Hansa.

And that was how Mrs Naidoo lost her job.

Government statistics also won't show the devastating effects on employment in the city. Already 15 000 clothing workers have lost their jobs and another 1 000 jobs will be cut soon.

Mr Hansa said: "In my 11 years with the union this is the worst period for clothing workers — and the union."

A union-backed move to help retrenched workers offers some immediate hope. Mr Hansa is hoping the programme to absorb retrenched workers into a burgeoning cottage industry secures various spin-offs.

Run by the Foundation for Entrepreneurship Development, a limited number of clothing workers are taught dressmaking skills in an attempt to encourage self-reliance.

Nirmilla Sathishchand is among the lucky ones. She was accepted into the programme which teaches clothing production, costing, and marketing.

The Department of Manpower sponsors the first month's training; the private sector helps to finance the other five months.

Joan Moore, head of the Cottage Industry Development, said: "Nirmilla is among our first successes. Apart from learning how to make dresses, she also goes out to get

orders. In this way, workers leave us knowing business basics."

Mrs Sathishchand's husband also lost his job recently and she has to provide for their three children.

When she completes the course in December, she will start her own business. Mr Hansa says assistance from the the Small Business Development Corporation will help to make people like Mrs Sathishchand independent in business.

And if her business grows, she will be able to employ one or two more people.

Limited financial resources restricts the programme; so for the rest of the retrenched workers, there's no relief.

While the Government gives away millions of rands to help manufacturers to decentralise, the overburdened unemployment insurance fund is the only source of income for the next few weeks. After that, who knows?

Mr Hansa says: "I don't know what to tell workers. How do you tell people there are no jobs?"

On paper the growth of industry outside the cities looks impressive as more industrialists queue for money from the Government. In the meantime Mrs Naidoo is just another statistic.

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CSO: 3400/280

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY SAYS COMPLEXITY, SCOPE OF REFORMS IGNORED

MB230812 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 23 Oct 86

[Station commentary: "Reform"]

[Text] In the past 2 years of massive international media attention on South Africa, two aspects of vital importance have been greatly neglected: the complexity of the situation in the country and the scope of reforms which have been brought about in a fairly short space of time.

Addressing businessmen in Johannesburg, South Africa's ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall, said that television had played a particular role in shaping Western perceptions about the country. South Africa is not only the stuff of good television, but profitable television, especially when it can be suggested that the film was made secretly by an intrepid reporter and presented by a courageous producer. The result, Dr Worrall said, was the highly emotional, superficial picture of a unique situation.

A major consequence of this perception of South Africa was that its issues were seen in simplistic moral terms in a black versus white situation. In similar vein, another prominent South African, Jr Jan Steyn, a former supreme court judge and now head of the Urban Foundation, has criticised the international community for failing to respond to the changes and reforms which have occurred in the country. In an address to the South Africa Club in London, he appealed for greater international recognition of the complexities of South Africa's problems and enumerated the many meaningful reforms brought about by the government of President P.W. Botha in leading the country toward a more democratic and nonracial future. He called on governments abroad to give moral and material support to all initiators in South Africa of negotiation between the country's many varied communities. He said that this was the world's only hope of influencing a peaceful resolution of the problems of South and southern Africa.

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CSO: 3400/286

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMITTEE RULES ON BANNED PUBLICATIONS

MB201251 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1131 GMT 20 Oct 86

[Text] Cape Town Oct 20 SAPA--A publications committee has, on review, ruled that possession of Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution, Part 1 by Hal Draper, is not undesirable and no longer prohibited, the directorate of publications announced in Cape Town today.

Two publications produced by the SWAPO Department of Information and Publicity, Luanda, Angola titled "Let My Country Go" and the May 1986 issue of the SWAPO information bulletin, have been declared undesirable.

Other publications declared undesirable include "Where Sixpence Lives" by Norma Kitson; "My Spirit Is not Banned" by Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, and Militant Issue 814, 12 September 1986 produced by Military Publications, London.

Two objects were also declared undesirable. They are a [word indistinct] with description "Muff Driver" and a kering with description "Situation Normal-All F...up"--producers not stated.

The directorate has appealed against committee decisions that two publications by Haymarket Publishing Ltd, Middlesex, CAMERA WEEKLY vol 7 no 18, week-ending 30 Aug 1986 and no 19 week-ending 6 Sep 1986 are not undesirable and has asked for the imposing of conditions regarding distribution and display. Representations could be made to the appeal board within the next 10 days.

The directorate has also appealed against committee decisions that "The Baker Papers" by Edward Hawke, and PRANK vol 1 no 126 produced by Sonskyn Uitgewers Pty Ltd Jeppe, Johannesburg are not undesirable. Representations could be made to the appeal board within the next 14 days.

A publications committee has, on review, ruled that the following publications are not undesirable: (name of author/producer in brackets):

The Best of Henry Miller (Lawrence Durrell); The Tenants (Bernard Malamud); The Wilby Conspiracy (Peter Driscoll); Decoding Corporate Camouflage (Elizabeth Schmidt); and Karl [Marx's] Theory of Revolution, vol II (Hal Draper).

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CSO: 3400/286

SOUTH AFRICA

MEDIA ASSOCIATION REUNIFIES WITH NEW CONSTITUTION

MB201415 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0911 GMT 20 Oct 86

[Text] Johannesburg, Oct 20 SAPA--The Media Workers Association of South Africa [MWASA] consolidated its re-unification when it adopted a new constitution for the organization at its national congress held in Soweto this weekend.

The new president and other officials will be announced after the next national council's meetings of the organization, MWASA said in a statement issued today.

All six regions (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London) of the organization were represented.

The appointment of Mr Tyrone Augus. as full time general secretary was confirmed.

Among the resolutions passed were a call for the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all detainees and political prisoners and a rejection of the pass laws in their "new form."

The government was slammed for its refusal to grant visas to 13 foreign trade unionists and journalists who were to attend the congress as international observers.

"Obviously the government, previously delighted that we had split, is now shattered that MWASA is again alive and kicking," said spokesman Mr Mazwai Thami.

The congress held a service to commemorate the banning of three newspapers and the detention of scores of leaders on October 19, 1977.

MWASA also expressed solidarity with the "workers struggle" as part of the "overall struggle" for liberation.

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CSO: 3400/286

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

MORE WHITES HAVE JOBS--The number of white urban adults in full-time employment is increasing and now significantly exceeds the figure for last year, according to Market Research Africa's employment index. In July this year 52,4 percent of white adults were working full-time, compared with 47,8 percent in July 1985. The employment trend is on a steady upward course with increases registered in November 1985 (49,8 percent) and March 1986 (50,2 percent). Government is virtually entirely responsible for the increase in the number of whites in employment. In July this year, 22 percent of urban white adults were working for large government institutions and 2,2 percent for small government organisations. In July last year the figures were 18,2 percent and 1,3 percent. The increase in government employees matches the increase in total employment. [Text] [Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR (Finance) in English 5 Oct 86 p 12] /9317

CSO: 3400/290

SOUTH AFRICA

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF FINANCE DISCUSSES GOLD PRICE, OTHER ISSUES

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR (Finance) in English 12 Oct 86 pp 7, 8

[Interview with Dr Chris Stals, Director-General of Finance, by Finance Editor John Spira in Washington; date not given]

[Text]

GOLD is headed higher on the back of renewed world inflationary pressures and the inability of the world's economic powers to reach consensus on co-ordinated economic policies.

This is the view of Dr Chris Stals, South Africa's Director-General of Finance, who spoke to me in Washington at the conclusion of the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Spira: What are the implications for gold of the painful and protracted negotiations that preceded the eventual agreement on the Mexican loan package?

Stals: The world banking system will not be allowed to collapse because of the Third World debt situation. The gold price is not rising as a result of this scenario.

On the previous occasion that gold rose in the wake of a Third World debt scare, the advance was transitory, indicating that this issue is not sufficiently deep-seated to sustain a prolonged, long-term price rise for gold.

The Third World debt problem will be with us for a long time. It will continue to require difficult negotiations and eventually the solution will be to transfer the debt from the private-sector banks to the international institutions.

In short, the world banking system is not going to collapse and the gold price will therefore not go up for this reason.

Spira: Are there any other reasons why the gold price should move higher?

Stals: Changes in the outlook for the American economy. Investors are taking their money out of the dollar and are investing elsewhere because they believe the

dollar will continue to depreciate. Further, they believe that inflation will rise again in the US.

These are factors which have been helping to push up gold — along with lower US interest rates, which reduce the effective cost of holding gold.

For these reasons, I believe the recent rise in the price of gold is not merely short-term in nature. The reasons behind the rise are too fundamental.

Spira: Where does South Africa stand against the background of the deliberations concerning loans to underdeveloped countries?

Stals: We've been forced — over a relatively short period of time — to create a surplus on the current account of our balance of payments in order to use this surplus to repay our foreign debt.

It's a harsh discipline, which doesn't apply to other developing coun-

tries, because, unlike South Africa, they can still get loans from the IMF.

The bright side, if there is one, is that we shall repay our foreign debt long before countries such as Mexico.

There's nevertheless a heavy cost in terms of domestic growth. Other countries haven't had to make the same sacrifices. We feel strongly that we haven't been treated fairly by the world's financial institutions.

Spira: To what extent is this problem retarding our economic growth?

Stals: We'll probably achieve a growth rate of 1.5 percent this year, but that isn't saying a lot because it's growth from a low base.

Last year we had negative growth and in the interim we've had an increase in our population and the size of the South African economy has increased.

Bear in mind that all we need is modest

growth in the industrial sector to achieve that 1.5-percent figure. Also, of course, the higher gold price helps.

Spira: To stay on schedule with our foreign-debt repayments, we shall need to maintain a huge surplus on the current account of the balance of payments. How would sanctions, especially US sanctions, impact on this objective?

Stals: Being precluded from exporting certain goods to the US, it should be possible for us to redirect at least some of these exports to other countries.

Therefore, I don't think it would require much more than a marginal downward adjustment of our projections for the current-account surplus.

In other words, if our projected growth rate for exports was 7 percent for next year, we might have to scale it down to 5.5 percent.

Even in the light of such a scenario, we should enjoy a healthy surplus next year. We're working on a figure of slightly less than what we expect for 1988 — around \$2.7 billion.

Spira: Such a figure should enable South Africa to stay on schedule with its debt repayments. Has anything been firmed up with the creditor banks on this score?

Stals: We haven't yet reached agreement with the banks on what is going to happen in 1987. Although the banks appreciate our problems, most are still keen to get their money back as soon as they can.

Very few wish to increase their exposure to South Africa. Some, fortunately, are prepared to defer requests for early repayment.

The biggest problems are with the American banks, which are desperate to reduce their exposure — not only to South Africa but to other countries as well.

As the Minister of Finance pointed out last week, total new bank lending to developing countries declined from \$51 billion in 1982 to \$14 billion in 1984 and \$3 billion in 1986, which indicates that the world's banks are reluctant to make new funds available.

Ironically, the \$3 billion that we've repaid in the past year equates to the sum lent by the banks to developing countries in the same period. In a sense, therefore, South Africa has been financing the new loans advanced to developing countries.

Spira: There has been a lot of fuss about the need to do away with protectionism in the context of international trade. Could one link sanctions to this issue?

Stals: Increasing protectionism in world trade is very much a part of the sanctions campaign.

For example, the Americans have selected a list of items for their sanctions drive against South Africa.

Coincidentally, those items are in surplus supply and the US would therefore welcome the opportunity of filling the gaps created by sanctions in the markets in

question. The same applies to other countries pushing for sanctions.

You can be sure that they're not going to apply sanctions against goods such as chrome, manganese, platinum and vanadium, because it doesn't suit them to do so.

Accordingly, sanctions against South Africa are tantamount to pursuing a protectionist policy.

Nor is the problem confined to us. Protectionism makes it difficult for the Third World to export and therefore difficult for those countries to meet their loan obligations.

It is, moreover, a problem compounded by the slowdown in world economic growth.

Spira: Is South Africa's role in sub-Saharan Africa appreciated by the international financial community?

Stals: Yes, although it is recognised that our role is more technical than financial. We cannot get new loans from that community, so it would be unrealistic for them to expect us to assist sub-Saharan Africa in a financial sense.

Spira: Has South Africa managed to achieve any positive tangible results in Washington?

Stals: Our presence here has certainly reconfirmed our good relationships with the staff of the IMF and the World Bank.

It has also given us the opportunity to talk to representatives of the major banks to prepare the path for further discussions during the next 12 months.

In a strictly tangible sense, one seldom achieves anything at these annual meetings but they are nevertheless an essential goodwill exercise. Our relationships with these people remain on a good footing.

Unfortunately, it's a situation whereby we are getting a lot of sympathy but no money. It doesn't help to observe that we're not unique in this situation.

Most of the developing countries are also struggling to get money at the moment.

Spira: A big issue here has been the head-on clash between the US and Germany on the question of interest and exchange rates. The differences appear to have been smoothed over for the time being, but under the surface there is surely a great deal of tension. How do you see it?

Stals: There's clearly a clash of interests. The Germans firmly believe their economy will move up next year and, since they are highly sensitive to inflation, they feel they need to be conservative in their monetary and fiscal policies.

Their annualised increase in money supply over the past few months works out at something in the region of 17 percent and this worries them. They're not going to reduce interest rates.

The Americans, on the other hand, are concerned that their economy is moving down. It's a problem exacerbated by the fact that they have borrowed huge amounts of short-term money from the rest of the world, and they're losing this money because of high interest rates in Germany.

For the present, it's an ongoing process, indicat-

ing that the dollar is likely to depreciate further.

The Americans won't stop it, because their reasoning is that the Germans and the Japanese can't have it both ways. If they can't toe the line on monetary policy, then they cannot also benefit from a strong dollar.

In the end, the Germans and Japanese will have to accept a further depreciation of the dollar.

Spira: You've already referred to the steep increase in the money supply in Germany. The same pattern is observable in the US. This is surely inflationary and therefore positive for gold.

Stals: Indeed. Money supply is one of the best indicators of inflation. The two have a direct relationship.

And, yes, it is positive for gold.

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CSO: 3400/281

SOUTH AFRICA

EUROPE'S FUEL COSTS LOWERED AFTER AGREEMENT WITH ITALY'S ENEL

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 17 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by Gerard McCloskey]

[Text]

FUEL COSTS for many major European electricity utilities are likely to tumble over the next 12 months after a contract agreement between Italian power company ENEL and two SA coal suppliers, BP and Gencor. The agreement on 1987 tonnage takes international coal prices to new lows and reflects the extreme pressure on SA coal in world markets, despite the EC decision last month not to ban imports of SA coal.

The new contract price of \$24 a ton, for the SA exporting terminal at Richards Bay, is down from \$27,50 for current deliveries.

Agreement was reached on the eve of the EC Foreign Ministers' sanctions meeting in mid-September in an attempt to blunt sanctions impact on Italian electricity costs. ENEL is the biggest buyer of SA coal in Europe. What made an early agreement crucial for both BP and Gencor was that their sales of 500 000 tons apiece were annually agreed and therefore especially vulnerable to sanctions.

The remainder of the ENEL/SA trade was based on long-term contracts and merely repriced annually. However, all SA's coal trade with Italy will at least have to match these new price levels. Indeed, the price of \$24 may not stick, since it is up to \$4 a ton higher than current spot prices from SA.

Even at these levels, assuming that other suppliers agree to match them, ENEL will wipe nearly \$16m off its fuel costs. Altogether, the company buys 4,5-million tons a year from SA.

However, any attempt by the mining houses to establish this new level as a European benchmark for 1987 will be short-lived.

In Spain — like Italy a growth market for coal imports — the state coal importer Carboex has asked for 1987 offers at \$20 a ton.

The squeeze on prices, which has brought barge lots of coal in Rotterdam down from \$39 a year ago to just \$30 last week, resulted from three factors: continuing oversupply, particularly from SA; dropping heavy fuel oil prices; and the gathering resistance to purchases of SA coal.

In the last 12 months, decisions by the French, Danish and, most recently, the US governments not to buy from SA has effectively lopped 10-million tons off steam coal exports (38,5-million in 1985).

The Danes, who purchased 3,5-million tons last year, will cease all trade with SA at the end of November.

A French decree 11 months ago that no contract renewals would be permitted reduced last year's trade of 6,3-million tons by around 5-million tons (although 30 000 tons a week are believed to be coming into France from Belgium).

It is expected that the remaining SA French-bound tonnage will be blocked at the end of this year.

Last month's US sanctions decision will see an end to an 800 000 ton annual contract between Gulf Power and the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association.

But, while it may appear that power companies buying from SA have been winners in the cost-cutting stakes, some very low prices are being reported for Australian coal.

Recent deliveries to Denmark have almost all been below US\$32 and, at the end of last week came a report that 500 000 tons of 1987's deliveries to a Danish power company had been agreed below \$30.

To this downward pressure on prices has been added an additional push resulting from a greater availability of Soviet coal and, recently, of coal from the lowest-cost producer of them all, China.

While the buyers will be rubbing their hands with glee at the prospect of yet lower prices, many of the producers will be counting their losses.

**IMPORTS OF
SOUTH AFRICAN COAL
IN 1985
(^{'000 tons})**

Japan	7 641
France	6 432
Italy	6 376
Denmark	3 454
W Germany	6 432
Spain	2 243
Hong Kong	2 242
Israel	2 167
Belgium/Lux	2 048
S Korea	1 600
Taiwan	979
US	824
Netherlands	819
UK	370
Greece	181
Switzerland	12
Portugal	92
Ireland	70

Source: International Coal Report

/9317

CSO: 3400/269

SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. SANCTIONS PACKAGE EXPLAINED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 6 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Stephen Rogers]

[Text]

THE US sanctions package announced last week is the most comprehensive yet by one of SA's trade partners, and follows earlier sanctions moves by Europe and Japan.

Taken separately, many of the trade barriers are of limited impact. However, as the list of countries taking action against SA grows, so does the threat to this country's total trade.

Here is the latest sanctions state of play, after last week's decision by the US Senate to override President Ronald Reagan's sanctions veto.

Coal

Sanctions against SA coal exports remain limited so far. The US, which will ban SA coal from January 1, takes less than 1-million tons (2%) of this country's exports. Value of sales to the US is about R70m.

Japan and the European Community (EC), which take more than 70% of SA's exports, have so far resisted pressure to impose coal sanctions, but industry officials fear the US decision will put pressure on them to follow suit.

SA exported 44-million tons of coal last year and industry officials expect to achieve the same level this year. Of that, the EC takes more than 50% and Japan 20%.

West Germany last month blocked EC efforts to impose coal sanctions, but the issue is to be discussed again early next year. Denmark and France, meanwhile, have unilaterally imposed a ban on more imports.

Rand Mines' Witbank Colliery MD Nilo Zolezzi said: "The direct effect of the US decision is not significant. More concerning is the possible spin-off it will have among other customers."

Transvaal Coal Owners' Association (Tcoa) MD Leslie Weiss said: "I think it is possible Europe will follow the US."

SA exporters are confident they can find alternative markets for the US coal. Loss of major contracts to Japan and the EC would be more difficult in an overtraded world market.

Iron and steel

Exports to Europe, worth about R780m last year, have been banned since the end of September.

Japan recently announced a ban on SA pig iron and steel materials. But exporters are still waiting to hear exactly what constitutes "steel materials". Pig iron exports to Japan are negligible, and iron ore appears unaffected.

SA can expect to lose about 500 000 tons of steel exports a year to the US. Pretoria's voluntary trade agree-

ment with Washington to limit SA steel imports to 0.45% of US consumption is scheduled to expire on October 1 1989.

Weapons and defence

US imports of SA ammunition and military vehicles are prohibited immediately, and US exports of munitions to SA are also banned. The latest US decision also prohibits military co-operation between the two countries except intelligence-gathering.

Sugar

The US has barred further SA sugar imports and transferred this country's import quota to the Philippines.

SA expected to export 800 000 tons of sugar this year, of which about 2.5% was earmarked for the US under the quota system. However, SA was asked to double its quota and sources said 40 000 tons have already been delivered for the year. Industry sources say that, at fixed US prices, the loss to SA will be about R32m a year.

Krugerrands

The US Senate Bill makes permanent Reagan's September 1985 ban on imports of Krugerrands, which accounted for \$486m in sales in 1984, the last full year of trade. Europe has also banned import of Krugerrands, while Japan officially discourages it.

Uranium

The US ban on SA uranium imports affects about 10% of SA's total exports. US sources say that country imported more than 500 tons last year. Prices of the commodity have slipped from \$45 a lb in 1980 to as low as \$14 a lb last year, but the market has slowly come back to a spot price of \$17 a lb.

Fears were expressed at the weekend that the strict implementation of sanctions could spell the end for several mines in SA and Namibia. Rossing Uranium deputy GM George Deyzel said: "Applying the uranium sanctions could be disastrous for Namibia."

Travel

US government agencies are barred from promoting SA tourism, while Japan has announced it will stop issuing tourist visas to South Africans. Certain European countries already discourage promotion of SA tourism.

Technology

The US has banned exports of computers, software and services to the SA military, police and other agencies "involved in administering apartheid". Also outlawed is the export of nuclear technology and materials. Japan has already banned export of computers to the SA military or police.

The US Commerce Department said computers topped the list of US sales to SA last year, accounting for \$80m of the \$1.21bn in total exports. It was not known what portion of the \$80m went to government agencies covered by the sanctions. Nuclear export figures were not available.

Airlines

The US is to ban landing rights for SA Airways, although SAA spokesmen say they are uncertain if they will be given 10 or 90 days' notice to cancel the airline's five weekly flights to New York.

In the meantime, SAA passengers for the US are being offered connections via London, Frankfurt, Zurich and Lisbon.

US carriers are also barred from serving SA, although none do so.

Japan has already announced a ban on SA aircraft landing there.

Tax

The Bill terminates a 1946 bilateral treaty intended to prevent businesses from paying taxes on the same income to both countries. The Bill instructs the Secretary of State to terminate the implementation of the US sanctions package will result in more than 1-million people in SA having no means of financial support, Operation Hunger says.

It has estimated the package will increase the number of unemployed people by about 130 000, of whom 10 000 will be white.

With the higher number of black dependents, it is calculated that more than 1-million people will be without support.

Operation Hunger's executive director Ina Perlman says the organisation's budget — the amount it expects to raise in donations — has almost doubled this year to R12m.

The cost of feeding 1-million people is estimated at R9m. Now that the package has gone through, the budget could rise to R20m.

minate the treaty and the protocol on the avoidance of double taxation.

Investment

The US ban on new investment in SA, and loans to the SA government and agencies controlled by it, is largely a case of legislating what already exists. Foreign banks — and not just those in the US — have been withdrawing, rather than investing, capital and credits from SA for more than 18 months.

This pressure on the capital account has already resulted in a

lower exchange rate, higher inflation and a lower rate of real economic growth. As long as the capital outflow continues, SA will have no choice but to run a large surplus on the current account.

"No US loans or investment have been coming into the country, purely because bankers and companies feel the risk is too high, and it is unlikely that they will change their minds soon," says a local banker.

The ban does not, however, prevent US companies from reinvesting profits generated from SA subsidiaries. Nor does it cover sales on open account (mainly between parent and subsidiary), short-term trade credits or the rescheduling of existing debt.

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CSO: 3400/270

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPERTS SAY STEEL, AGRICULTURE HARDEST HIT BY U.S. SANCTIONS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Oct 86 p 3

[Text]

STEEL and agriculture would be punished most by planned US economic sanctions, but the blow could be softened by well-tried tactics of semi-clandestine trade, business experts said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The US bought \$78.2m of steel products and \$65.5m of farm goods among its total imports from SA of \$2.17bn last year.

Association of Chambers of Commerce of SA economist William Lacey said: "Sanctions are not new to us, and there are people in the business of evading sanctions that seem to do it pretty effectively.

"The business community with its ingenuity will try to beat them."

Analysts said manufacturers had various ways of issuing false certificates of origin.

Business consultant Michael Perry, who has more than 60 blue chip companies as clients, said SA had been busting sanctions since the '60s.

He said: "The result is that 54% of our (export) trade is semi-clandestine, meaning no data is available on the country of origin."

On paper, the US sanctions are the most comprehensive attempt yet to pressure Pretoria to scrap apartheid. Besides agriculture and steel, they include a ban on coal, computers and new investment.

Perry said SA would need to boost exports to clandestine partners by only 16% to offset the impact of even a total US trade embargo.

Business sources said SA's secret trading partners, dealt with directly or through middlemen, included countries in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Asia.

SA Life Assurance chief economist Johan Louw said "Made in Southern Africa" instead of "Made in South Africa" could be exploited to "the greatest extent" by industries.

Louw said overproduction of steel by world producers could make it difficult to find alternative markets.

Industry sources said the US sanctions could cost SA up to 500 000 tons of steel exports a year.

Isacor, the giant government-run iron and steel company which accounts for more than 70% of local steel production, said the ban was a setback.

A spokesman said: "We have been involved in other overseas markets for some time and we will try to use these markets more. Our main export markets are widely spread."

The already depressed agricultural sector, which employs millions of black workers, will be further weakened by the sanctions.

Analysts said agriculture accounted for 7% of total SA exports last year and fruit, wool and sugar were especially vulnerable.

Sugar-growers alone will lose about \$14.4m under the US ban. — Sapa-Reuter.

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CSO: 3400/271

SOUTH AFRICA

SEIFSA: SANCTIONS ON STEEL POLARIZING NATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Oct 86 p 10

[Article by Helen Grange]

[Text]

THE international community's decision to impose sanctions on the export of iron and steel, far from bringing about a better South Africa, are now clearly a factor in increasing tension and polarisation in the country.

This was said yesterday by the president of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA), Mr R Mason at the Federation's annual general meeting in Johannesburg.

"SEIFSA has strongly opposed this action through an overseas advertising programme and representations to ambassadors of our major trading partners," Mr Mason said.

"SEIFSA has also urged the government to move forward strongly in achieving a more just society in South Africa so that the country's consid-

erable resources can be fully exploited to the benefit of all its people."

Mr Mason said that the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12 has had a dramatic impact on the industry, and that there has been a marked reduction in industrial action in the industry.

"The detention of large numbers of trade union leaders, particularly at the local level, had a very negative impact on the functioning of industrial relations procedures, but the present indications are that, in most areas, industrial relations structures are returning to a degree of normality," he said.

Mr Mason said that too much was expected of employers in bringing about the changes needed in South Africa, considering that the first priority is for business to be profitable, and that its political influence is limited by the democratic process.

"The business community can however improve the quality of life of lower income workers and this needs to be the prime focus area. With poor economic conditions making progress in this area much more difficult, it is important that employers work together through their employer organisations to make the maximum impact with limited resources."

To this effect, SEIFSA and other major employer bodies decided to establish the Private Sector Council on Urbanisation, under the leadership of the Urban Foundation, and at present, the council is formulating policies and strategies for positive urbanisation.

"The abolition of influx control removes a major obstacle to employees being able to live with their families, and it is essential that employers assist in tackling this problem in our industry," Mr Mason said.

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CSO: 3400/269

SOUTH AFRICA

FARMERS CONFIDENT ABOUT RISING ABOVE SANCTIONS THREAT

Johannesburg THE STAR (Business) in English 7 Oct 86 p 6

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text]

WHILE the scenario for farmers under sanctions looks grim, industry sources are confident the sector can rise above the threat.

They say however tight the net becomes, it will never be without holes. But they are reluctant to discuss counter-measures being taken.

Maize exports, they say, will be particularly hard hit in world markets already glutted with grain.

Most importing countries — which are predominantly poor — either actively dislike SA or expect generous credit terms.

Any barter deals, which sources expect to mushroom, will be fraught with danger. Even exporting via the East could attract world attention.

Exports of fresh fruit are particularly vulnerable. Brand names — Outspan and Cape Apples — are felt to be conspicuous. Relabelling could lower intrinsic values, while rerouting could cost the sector money.

Farming costs could be cut considerably if emphasis is placed on processed products. Exports could still get through on this basis, although volumes sold will not be profitable.

Cotton production will in all probability be encouraged to lighten dependence

on imports. This sector, it is felt, will generate employment and keep farmers on the land.

On the sugar front, sources predict the virtual disappearance of world markets for SA.

A prediction that tobacco prices will drift downwards is supported by the theory that as domestic production increases, market competition will intensify.

Wool products will continue to escape the net and won't spoil while waiting. The wool farmer should continue to benefit from a cheap rand.

Beef, mutton, vegetables and fresh produce, all aimed at the local market, should not suffer. More competitors will enter the fray and fruit-growing techniques could change as labour becomes more abundant. Little change is envisaged in these sectors except that maize for feeding will become cheaper.

The good news for the farming community is that the bottom is expected to fall out of the fertiliser market. Lime and phosphates will be plentiful. Demand for nitrogen should plummet, but potash and sulphur will become more expensive.

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CSO: 3400/272

SOUTH AFRICA

CONTINUING DROUGHT THREATENS ECONOMIC GROWTH PROSPECTS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business) in English 12 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by David Southey]

[Text]

DROUGHT — South Africa's perennial dread disease — once again looms menacingly on the horizon and threatens to derail economic growth prospects.

After one of the driest Septembers for more than a decade, the nation's farmers and their creditors are now dismally bracing themselves for the crunch.

With many SA farmers already in dire financial straits, inadequate rainfall during the next critical month or so could plunge agriculture into catastrophe and send banks' bad debts rocketing.

Despairing

A senior economist of the SA Agricultural Union, Dries Davel, says: "Another bad agricultural year will absolutely devastate the platteland economy. Crop failures in the summer rainfall areas will also smash any chances of achieving a reasonable rate of growth in the overall economy."

Major commercial banks are also despairing over weather prospects. Farmers already owe them nearly R4-billion. No rain this year could catapult hosts of farmers into bankruptcy.

Barclays, Volkskas and Standard are each estimated to have at least R1-billion exposures to agriculture, with Trust's lending reckoned at about R500-million. Volkskas's farm book is thought to be the most vulnerable because of its widespread client base in the drought-stricken western parts of the Transvaal and Free State.

Farmers owe another R3-billion to the co-ops, which in turn owe the banks millions. Some are said to be tottering on the brink of insolvency.

The remainder of agriculture's staggering R12-billion debt consists of R2.5-billion owed to the Land Bank and R3-billion loaned by other financial institutions and creditors.

SA Farm Consultants' John Harrison says: "Even if we do get reasonable rains, there are many farmers who are not going to survive. Drought and high interest rates have knocked the stuffing out of the industry."

Reasonable

Though many areas in the eastern half of the country have had reasonable early rains — with the eastern Free State recording near-record crops — the western parts of the Transvaal and Free State maize, sorghum and cotton growing belt could be headed for disaster if good rains do not fall within a month.

Mr Davel says: "After four or five years of successive crop failures, creditors are obviously anxious about granting more credit. Faced with another drought, many are saying that the risk is simply not worth it."

Battling

Nampo's Kit le Clus says: "We should be aiming at producing about 9-million tons of maize this year, but we need plenty of rain to achieve that."

"The gloomy price outlook means that many farmers are battling to get credit. There are still numerous

farmers who haven't managed to arrange credit facilities with their co-ops, which means they can't go ahead with planting."

Those farmers who cannot obtain credit from their co-ops or banks are queueing up at the doors of the Government-sponsored Agricultural Credit Board (ACB). According to Dr le Clus, there is a major backlog of credit applications building up both at co-ops and the ACB. And the banks are none too eager to fill the gap.

Crop farmers in summer-rainfall areas are desperately trying to stave off liquidation by diversifying into pastures and stock-raising. But that, too, takes time and plenty of capital — which isn't forthcoming.

City dwellers, too, will not escape the crunch. Another drought will not only force food prices through the ceiling and send inflation spiralling but will inevitably entail severe water restrictions.

Plummeted

Dams serving the crucial PWV industrial area are emptying at an alarming rate. The level of the Vaal dam is at 16% of capacity and would have been bone-dry were it not for water pumped from the Tugela. The Hartbeespoort dam's level has dropped to 22% from 27% this time last year.

Eastern Transvaal dams averaged 35% of capacity last year and have since plummeted to an average 27% level. Western Transvaal dams have dropped from an average of 27% in 1985 to only 18%.

A gold price of \$400-\$450 will certainly boost growth. But without good, soaking rains through the summer season, SA can kiss goodbye to economic prosperity.

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CSO: 3400/272

SOUTH AFRICA

FARM DEBT SOARS; CO-OPS FACE FINANCIAL RUIN

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text]

COMMERCIAL banks are now owed a massive R3bn by the agricultural sector, with agricultural co-operatives running a close second at R2.2bn.

Total agricultural debt has soared to R11.2bn.

And it is understood certain co-ops are in financial difficulties as a result of injudicious lending policies, says an Assocom report to the Economic Council of the State President on the restructuring of the agricultural sector.

The amount owed to co-operatives increased from 8% (R130m) of the total debt in 1970 to 24% in 1984.

Assocom questions whether co-ops will be able to continue their lending role in the face of more market-related interest rates.

"In this context they obviously constitute part of the farm problem, for any collapse would have a damaging effect on both the rural economy and on the very banking system itself.

"It has been argued that the co-ops have advanced credit too easily. To some extent co-ops have been protected by the government scheme for the consolidation of R1.1bn of unpaid production credit advanced to farmers in the summer rainfall area."

Assocom also questions government on whether high support prices, controls and input subsidies offer an effective solution to the farm problem.

"A characteristic of agricultural support measures is that it discriminates financially in favour of agriculture at the expense of the population, either as taxpayers or consumers."

The report says: "A short-term strategy for the rehabilitation of the industry might follow the lines taken in Rhodesia during the UDI period.

"Under that programme a number of farmers who had been financially overwhelmed by successive droughts were successfully re-established."

It says such a scheme would require active participation by government, the Land Bank, commercial banks and other local expertise.

Overall the report recommends:

- ☐ Any reconstruction programme must form part of an integrated rural strategy which ties in with other development objectives;
- ☐ The aims of the White Paper on agriculture must be reconciled with the objectives for Industrial Strategy (Klein Report);
- ☐ The protection measures enjoyed by certain agricultural industries must be reviewed in accordance with earlier government assurances;
- ☐ The existing support measures must be critically evaluated and modified where necessary.

The farmers' vast financial problems — their escalating debt and interest burden — will dominate the SA Agricultural Union Congress which opens in Bloemfontein on October 21, writes GERALD REILLY.

In a preamble to the resolutions to come before congress it is stressed that the continued viability of increasing numbers of farming enterprises is in jeopardy.

It was alarming that many farmers would buckle under the huge debt and interest burden without supplementary government aid — in addition to the existing drought aid.

Congress will be asked to request government to provide the aid on merit, and to reschedule repayment obligations.

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SOUTH AFRICA

GLOOMY SCENARIO FORECAST FOR MANUFACTURING SECTOR IN 1987

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text]

SOARING inflation and a sharp increase in labour unrest is the gloomy scenario forecast for SA's manufacturing sector next year.

And industry leaders say if SA is to attract new capital, have a healthy economic growth rate and a sound balance of payments, it will have to stabilise politically.

A survey of business executives of the top 100 industrial companies in SA shows 75% are expecting an upward swing in the number of strikes in 1987.

More than half (54%) predict sanctions and disinvestment pressures will intensify in 1987; 20% disagree.

The survey, released by Unisa's Bureau of Market Research and published by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, was conducted among corporate executives of the top 100 industrial and manufacturing companies listed on the JSE.

Forecasts on the inflation rate generally indicate a rise ranging between 17%-23%. The median rate predicted is 17.9%.

Most (89%) predict a higher average real economic growth rate compared with 1985. They foresee a rate ranging between no growth and 6% next year, with a median rate of 2.1%.

They are divided on whether SA will experience less unemployment in the coming year compared with 1985. However, their opinions signify a

measure of pessimism, since 45% disagree — as against 36% who agree — there will be less unemployment.

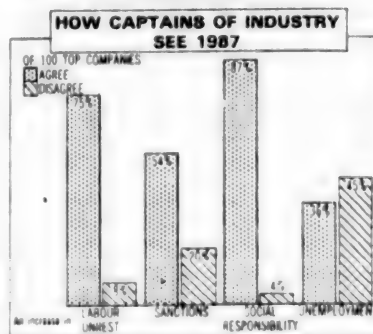
Nearly half (47%) agree that the overall political situation will deteriorate in 1987 compared with 1985.

The executives agree that manufacturers will face shortages — specifically with regard to capital.

A high percentage agree that consumer groups will exert more pressure on manufacturing, industry, government and the media to be more responsive to consumer problems.

Many (87%) agree that the social environment in which manufacturers operate will put greater pressure on them to shoulder more social responsibility.

The majority (51%) see an improvement in the rand/dollar exchange rate.



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CSO: 3400/271

SOUTH AFRICA

BER: IMPORTS TO RISE SHARPLY IN 1987

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 15 Oct 86 p 3

[Text]

IMPORTS will rise sharply in 1987, forcing government to slow domestic demand and increase dependence on gold production to maintain a balance of payments surplus, Stellenbosch University's Bureau of Economic Research (BER) says.

The BER said in its latest *Economic Prospects* that it expected merchandise imports to climb by 24,1% next year, after rising by 15,3% in 1986. At the same time, exports, limited by the imposition of foreign trade sanctions, would grow by just 1,3% in volume terms and 13,3% in value next year.

As a result, export gains will not offset the rise in imports, putting pressure on the capital surplus that SA must maintain in order to pay off its foreign debt.

BER said: "There can be no doubt that the position around SA's debt repayment — which means among other things the current account must be kept in surplus — is inhibiting growth prospects." It also predicted a "marginal further relaxation in monetary policy" in the next year.

Still, the BER predicted that SA's current account surplus would jump to R6,4bn for 1986 and R6,2bn next year. The trade balance is forecast to rise to R16bn in 1987, largely on the strength of a 21,9% increase in net gold output.

The BER said: "It would appear as if gold — as has been the case so often in the past — will once again come to our rescue. Unfortunately, however, it will make the country more dependent on gold revenue."

At the same time, slightly higher demand for goods should encourage manufacturers and retailers to start rebuilding inventory stocks in 1987, pushing real gross domestic expenditure up by 4,4% from 1% this year.

But the sharp upturn in imports will dampen gross domestic product, forecast to grow 3,3% in real terms next year.

The BER said: "The outlook for real private consumption expenditure and real fixed investment is not promising."

Total fixed investment, including public sector expenditures, was expected to decline by 10,6% this year.

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CSO: 3400/270

SOUTH AFRICA

NATION'S VITAL MCV FACTOR EXPLAINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Oct 86 p 8

[Article by Jaap Boekkooi]

[Text]

Most industrialised countries are hesitant to follow the American sanctions initiative against South Africa because of the little known MCV Factor which is seldom discussed outside boardrooms.

The MCV Factor stands for manganese-chromium-vanadium, a powerful combination of minerals without which steel manufacturing throughout the modern world would revert to the technological Middle Ages. And without which there would be no railway lines, cars, jet aircraft, locomotives.

As it is South Africa holds a virtual world monopoly on these minerals. As the newspaper *General-Anzeiger* in the West German capital Bonn mentioned the other day: "The West German steel industry ... is completely dependent on South Africa for certain alloy raw materials. The production of high-grade steel in Germany could be speedily paralysed by counter-boycott measures since, unlike the US, it has no strategic reserves."

For Germany, one can also read France, Sweden, Japan, Korea and the entire industrial world which runs and moves on modern steels. The exception is the United States which has stockpiled strategic minerals, manganese even, for the past 40 years.

The MCV Factor could be South Africa's "bomb in the basement" as an unparalleled bargaining power play.

For as the Bonn paper points out, the amount of strategic minerals South Africa supplies to the West "is not that significant for its own balance of trade".

The unsaid implication is that South Africa could use the strength of its rare minerals in sanctions-spawned barter agreements much in the way Russia used to do.

This country is in no obvious bargaining position for its coal and iron ore exports, for instance, where too many suppliers are ready to step into the sanctions breach. But if ores and coal were offered in package deals with more vital minerals, they would constitute an offer increasingly hard to refuse.

Even if South Africa were to hold up exports of the MCV Factor minerals it would only affect a small fraction of its total mineral exports.

The 22 000 tons of vanadium exported from South Africa annually, six times that of its nearest rival Finland, earns the country a mere R122 million, about 0.5 percent of total mineral exports of R23 000 million. Manganese exports are twice this, just over one percent of mineral exports, and chrome ore exports stand at R147 million a year.

Yet together, at below 2.5 percent of mineral exports, they constitute a mighty mineral mouse that roars. And one that, when tweaked, will again send up the gold price.

Manganese production, most of it from the great Kalahari storehouse whose reserves are almost 80 percent of the world's, has tripled since 1960. If supplies were interrupted the United States, for instance, would be forced to use up its reserves and resort to expensive seabed mining of manganese nodules.

In chromium, the heart of many alloys and all stainless steels, South Africa and Bophuthatswana hold 77 percent of Western reserves and just on 56 percent of present world production.

Although South Africa and Bophuthatswana have 93.7 percent of the world's reserves of platinum metals and these minerals are often classified as highly strategic, the world is not as dependent on South African platinum mining as is often thought.

There are large-scale strategic global platinum reserves in the form of bars and jewelry which could be turned into platinum for industrial uses. Car emission catalyst programmes, the main outlets for the metals, could simply be suspended world-wide until Southern African supplies are restored.

Once other countries start looking at the critical implications of the MCV Factor, then the German newspaper's *cri de coeur*: "Bonn is faced by a difficult decision", will soon be echoed in other world capitals.

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CSO: 3400/281

SOUTH AFRICA

LOW PRODUCTIVITY RELATED TO LACK OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Oct 86 p 16

[Article by Sheryl Raine]

[Text]

An alarmingly high proportion of businesses of all sizes do no management training or limited training. This is a major reason for poor productivity levels in South Africa, says the National Manpower Commission (NMC).

The NMC together with the National Training Board today released the findings of a survey on the training and development of managers during 1983/84, conducted by the National Productivity Institute (NPI).

The survey, which was limited to the private sector and training institutions, was not intended to draw conclusions. But at the end of the day the researchers felt compelled to make some conclusions "especially because on the one hand, they point to a disturbing situation and on the other they are quite encouraging for the future".

The NPI reported a poor and disappointing response to questionnaires sent to the business sector which included mining, construction, manufacturing, retail and wholesale trade.

INDICTMENT OF THE SECTOR

Only 98 organisations rendered responses which were usable, 4,5 percent of those polled. Together respondents employed about 16 000 managers.

"If this was to serve as an indication of the interest of business in the training of the people who have to direct and control its activities, it would have to serve as an indictment of that sector, at the same time serving to indicate where one of the most important causes of the generally low level of productivity in the country lies," said the report.

"The investigation also demonstrated beyond dispute that there must be a disturbingly large number of firms, even some of the bigger ones, that give no or only limited attention to the training of their managers. This is a further indication of where the cause of low productivity lies."

At least 87 percent of large, medium and small organisations which responded to the questionnaire did no management training at all. In many other cases information about training was not available, indicating that these businesses also did limited or no training.

Middle management received most attention as far as training was concerned and top management least.

The number of whites who received management training was significantly higher than for other population groups (see table).

Regarding training institutions, the report said 10 universities, nine technikons and 39 private institutions responded from a total of 152.

Nine of the 10 universities said they accepted people of all races while one said blacks were admitted on approval of the university council.

Four of the technikons said they accepted all races while three said they allowed blacks on condition they could not study a particular programme at a black institution.

All private institutions accepted all races on management courses.

In all cases, top management was the least targeted group for training. Universities saw senior management as having the greatest need for ad-

ditional management training while technicians saw middle management as the main target and private institutions aimed their programmes at all management levels.

All training institutions earmarked human resources as a high priority.

LACK OF TRAINING FACILITIES

The report noted that there was a lack of training facilities and experienced trainers. Care would have to be taken not to spread the available facilities and manpower too thinly and serious consideration would have to be given to achieve a much higher degree of co-operation and sharing of facilities and manpower.

Generally the investigators found an over-concentration of training in the field of general management and noted that fields of knowledge like human relations, of key importance for any managerial activity, were suffering to a certain extent.

The report suggested several follow-up studies were needed, including investigation into public sector management development and research into methods to stimulate management training.

BUSINESS SECTOR: THE NUMBER OF MANAGERS WHO RECEIVED TRAINING, PER POPULATION GROUP AND FUNCTIONAL AREA, RSA 1983

FUNCTIONAL AREA	NUMBER OF MANAGERS WHO RECEIVED TRAINING					
	WHITES	%	OTHER POPULATION GROUPS	%	TOTAL	%
General management	2 212	91,9	194	8,1	2 406	100
Marketing	686	86,3	109	13,7	795	100
Purchasing	22	88,0	3	12,0	25	100
Production	457	69,6	200	30,4	657	100
Finance	503	97,3	14	2,7	517	100
Administration	758	88,4	99	11,6	857	100
Human resources	2 398	91,2	231	8,8	2 629	100
Public relations	3	100,0	0	0,0	3	100
Other	168	97,0	25	13,0	193	100
TOTAL	7 207	89,2	875	10,8	8 082	100

Number of respondents: 78

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CSO: 3400/269

SOUTH AFRICA

MORE CUTS IN INTERCITY TRAIN SERVICES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Zenaide Vendeiro]

[Text]

More inter-city train services will be axed next month because of continued losses.

All passenger services between Johannesburg and Cape Town, except the Trans-Karoo and the Blue Train, will stop but the Trans-Karoo will run daily instead of four times a week.

Services between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth will be cut from four days a week to two. Trains will leave the coast on Fridays and Sundays.

There will only be one service a week, on Mondays, from Cape Town to Durban.

SATS has reported that the occupancy rate of the Blue Train, which reached a low of 36 percent in June, has begun to improve.

'HIGHEST ANNUAL AVERAGE'

A spokesman said: "Although occupancy rates declined until earlier this year, the picture started improving from August when we reached parity with the same period last year.

"In September, when an occupancy rate of 68 percent was recorded, we exceeded the number of passengers conveyed during 1985.

"The highest annual average was in 1980 (about 95 percent) but during that year far fewer trips were run. Having achieved such high occupancy rates, it was clear we were in a growing market and provision had to be made for the overseas market.

"More recent events, however, indicated a decline in overseas passengers and to curb our losses we have reduced frequencies for 1987."

As a result of the drop in overseas passengers, SATS has focused on the domestic market. Traditionally the overseas/domestic passenger split was 80/20 — it is now 50/50.

"We are satisfied with the success we have achieved so far in the development of the local market," the spokesman said.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

ERFDEEL SHAFT SHOWS PROMISE--The first reef intersections from the Erfdeel shaft on the developing Erfdeel mine in the Free State have assayed an encouraging 1 510cm g/t, which is well above expectation. Only 20 metres were sampled, averaging 19,90 g/t of gold and 0,60 kg/t of uranium over a width of 75,9cm. The gold value is in line with the values of President Steyn's ore reserves before Steyn was incorporated in Freegold. The uranium value at Erfdeel of 45,28 kg/t is high for gold-bearing Witwatersrand reefs, apart from those previously worked solely for uranium. Duiker Exploration has a 36% interest in Eastern Gold Holdings for whom the shafts are being sunk. The remaining 64% is held by Freegold and various Anglo American companies. Duiker at September 30 had contributed R42m in loan facilities towards Eastern Gold Holdings. In terms of a recent announcement, Duiker has a 25,8% interest in a company to be formed to explore and exploit an area of 3 026 ha adjoining Freegold's mining lease area. The Freddie's No 1 Shaft, formerly Free State Geduld No 10, will be used without Duiker having to contribute to its cost or having to pay any fee for its use. A three-year R11m drilling programme has been initiated in the interim to decide how further to exploit the joint area. It seems unlikely the consortium forming this new company will have to provide large sums of money towards development before revenue starts accruing from mining a part of the joint area from Freddie's No 1 Shaft. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 17 Oct 86 p 12] /9317

NEW FACTORY SUPPLIES TIMBER NEEDS--A tiny island in the middle of a scenic southern Cape lagoon is home to Africa's biggest plywood and blockboard factory. Uniply, in the Barlow Group, has spent six months setting up the factory on Thesens Island in the Kuysna lagoon. By consolidating four factories into one, it has created an operation able to supply all SA's plywood and blockboard needs. MD Lew Behr said: "We will also be in a position to replace almost all imports of boards, plywoods and veneer." Heavy rains, among other factors, have delayed completion of the factory and Behr said the move had disrupted supplies. "We have been having difficulty meeting demand but that period is almost behind us," he added. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Oct 86 p 4] /9317

COAL PLANT TO CONTINUE--The Austrian government's proposed economic sanctions against SA will not adversely affect Iscor's R110m contract with Voest Alpine to build the world's first coal reduction plant at the steelmaker's Pretoria

works. This was confirmed yesterday by the Austrian Embassy in Pretoria and an Iscor spokesman. Austria announced this week it would implement limited economic sanctions against SA in line with European Community (EC) measures. The action is a show of solidarity by the government with the EC sanctions package, a spokesman for the Austrian Embassy said yesterday. The ban covers imports of steel, iron, gold coins and prohibits new investment. The gold coin ban appears to be meaningless since the sale of Krugers was informally banned by the Osterreich Nationalbank last September. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Oct 86 p 3] /9317

SHELLFISH INDUSTRY COLLAPSE--Cape Town--South Africa's multimillion-rand rock-lobster industry is facing collapse, writes Graham Ferreira. Two-thirds of the R120-million industry is geared to export to the United States. Leading figures in the industry said the sanctions would put thousands of Cape people out of work--beginning next month. "There is no way that the local market could take up the slack created by the closing American market," said Mr John Wiley of the Department of Fisheries. The rest of the global quota of 3 950 tons of the seafood delicacy, just over 6 percent, is sold in Europe and Japan. But both markets have alternative suppliers. [Text] [Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 5 Oct 86 p 10] /9317

NATIONAL EMBARGO ON SHIPPING INFORMATION--Cape Town, Oct 22, SAPA--In spite of an official SATS [South African Transport Service] clampdown on shipping information, sanctioned at cabinet level, news of shipping in Cape Town harbour is still available. Cape Town's port captain, Capt Ray Schooling, said yesterday he did not wish to be quoted until the issue had been clarified to him. Earlier, he said he understood that figures relating to cargoes should not longer be issued, but that the harbour log was unaffected. This was denied by Mr Johan Hugo, a spokesman for SATS in Johannesburg. "From now on we will give neither statistics regarding cargoes nor the names, destinations or origins of ships," Mr Hugo said. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0813 GMT 22 Oct 86 MB] /6662

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